



Daily Report

East Europe

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Wednesday
28 September 1988

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ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

CSSR Observes Swiss 'Rotondo' Exercises 27 Sep
LD2609193888 Prague CTK in English
1827 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 26 (CTK)—Joint exercises of the Swiss Armed Forces "Rotondo" started on the country's

territory on September 21 and will last till September 29, Switzerland has announced.

In accord with the document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security and Disarmament in Europe Czechoslovak experts will attend the exercises as observers on September 27-30.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Zhivkov Speech Opens East-West Meeting
AU2709135688 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 25 Sep 88 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, at the opening of the Third East-West Economic Meeting on 24 September at the Varna Golden Sands Resort]

[Text] Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, comrades, it is a pleasure for me to attend the opening of the third meeting in a series, attended by distinguished representatives of business circles from East and West European countries.

There is no doubt whatsoever that such meetings are increasingly becoming a good tradition. This fact by itself evokes respect. It is obvious that such meetings are necessary.

Permit me, in this atmosphere which is both businesslike and cheerful, to say to you cordially: "Welcome to Bulgaria," on behalf of the State Council, on behalf of the government, and on my own behalf, and to wish you successful work. I hope that your stay in our country and in Varna, which we call our summer capital, will be both pleasant and useful.

You have devoted your present meeting to strategic approaches on expanding East-West economic cooperation under the conditions of a dynamically changing, global situation.

I would like to assure you that we, in Bulgaria, await the discussions and the results of your meeting, as a whole, with great interest. This is so because you, the businessmen and representatives of the business world are, so to say, one step ahead of the politicians in resolving such problems.

The problems of economic cooperation, however, are no less important for us, the state leaders, than the political ones. We are justifiably expected to work for the establishment of a favorable political atmosphere for the sake of expanding economic cooperation.

Yes, the urgent requirement for basically new strategic approaches in favor of economic cooperation between East and West is more than evident. It is so obvious that one should not even talk about it. The number of businessmen and political figures who are aware of this requirement is increasing.

We are talking about a general requirement.

Fruitful economic cooperation is impossible if we restrict ourselves to bilateral relations between individual countries, or to certain regions, without taking into consideration the processes of global development as a whole. In addition to this, economic cooperation is organically linked to the current political processes as well as to the spheres of science, culture, and education.

It is obvious that a restructuring of economic cooperation, new visions, and new approaches are required in this respect. Hence, the importance of our approach to the economic cooperation processes in order to develop them as extensively as possible.

This is a question which, to a great extent, determines worldwide development.

I will point out two facts in this connection:

The first fact is that at the present stage of development this cooperation is by far not conforming to the existing opportunities in terms of the economic potentials of the countries in the East and West.

A certain lack of symmetry has emerged, which I would even call a nuisance. It is a lack of symmetry between the participation of the West European and socialist countries in the total volume of foreign trade.

Can these existing problems be resolved in the traditional way by using the existing reserves? Obviously, a similar approach will not help to solve all questions.

This is one aspect of the problem.

The other one is connected with the fact that we are recently facing serious efforts to exceed the past framework of cooperation. This fact in itself is positive. We should pay a well-deserved tribute to those personalities who have really contributed to this (and many of them are present here).

At the same time, we would be quite wrong to assert that this unfreezing in cooperation should simply be regarded as the manifestation of some recurring, periodical improvement of international relations.

There is no doubt that in international relations, including economic cooperation, there will be high tides, low tides, zigzag movements, and sometimes even deviations. Nevertheless, this does not mean that each improvement in the international situation is fatally bound to be followed by a deterioration, followed again by improvement, and so forth.

In my opinion, our country's and the whole world's development has now reached a stage in which economic cooperation should assert itself as a permanent and lasting feature of international relations, a norm of existence and development.

Naturally, **realism** is required in this respect. Considering the complexity of the present-day problems, we should take into account the fact that **all this will develop into a controversial, complicated, and difficult process.** In any case, the rule: "All or nothing" is not and cannot be a **realistic program** of action.

The decisive requirement today is to **proceed more confidently and more efficiently along the broad path of mutually advantageous cooperation.** This will gradually eliminate all obstacles, the breakthroughs will expand further, and new horizons will open.

Nevertheless, in order to achieve this goal we will again and again face the urgent requirement of finding approaches in conformity with contemporary needs—approaches capable of solving the existing problems.

This is not only so because dogmas and cliches accumulated over several decades should be overcome. Our contemporary world increasingly raises an ever-growing number of new problems which require an extensive analysis on the basis of new concepts.

Ladies and gentlemen, comrades, as is known, the present-day efforts to **build a new concept of the world** are truly universal. Solutions to new problems are sought both in the East and West.

Numerous problems are important in our epoch, such as, above all, the problems of peace and war, and the problems of man's survival, of the survival of our civilization created by man. This includes the problems of ecology, which also represent a threat against mankind.

The problems of international economic order are pressing. They exert their impact, to one extent or another, upon the reproduction and development of the human race. Numerous complicated and contradictory processes related to man and to his system of values are emerging.

Yes, everything is important in this world of ours. Last, but not least, we cannot fail to point out, both with concern and alarm, that numerous countries belonging to the so-called Third World have not yet resolved their basic social problems—such as poverty, starvation, illiteracy, and so forth.

Nevertheless, these questions are all interrelated, and in the long run culminate in one basic question: the question of the world's further development.

I am confident that you will agree with me on the urgent requirement for a concept that should not disunite, but unite the world.

The main thing for us now is to realize that the contemporary world is entering a new stage of development in terms of the basic processes which are taking place today.

The world can no longer be the same as it was before. Its functioning and development are determined by **new socio-historical features** which we could not even have imagined in the past.

Regarded chronologically, this process began to expand on a broad basis mainly under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution following World War II, and especially over the last 10-15 years.

The essential problem is that those years were not a simple episode, a simple link in the course of events. Those years were of particular importance.

A profound change began to occur in the development of productive forces on the basis of scientific-technical revolution.

In this context, social life assumed a new historical essence which is unprecedented. Its dimensions are multifaceted: The productive forces of society assume a new essence and are becoming productive forces of a scientific-technological type; changes occur at the basis and in the superstructure of society, in the way of life, and in the people's systems of values.

We observe that in the leading western countries, which are adapting to the new situation, essential changes occur in production, in management, and in the integration processes, new values are established, and so forth.

As you know, the socialist countries are undergoing at an accelerated rate, and to one extent or another, a process of restructuring which involves both the basis and the superstructure. A democratization of society takes place

in all spheres of life. In this thoroughly innovative process the vanguard contribution of the new Soviet leadership, headed by Mikhail Gorbachev, is particularly evident. The goal is to build a highly developed society, a vitally strong society, open to everything new, capable of ensuring material and cultural prosperity.

As we can see, the new global processes do not cause the East and West to oppose each other. They are "working" for the benefit of the world as a whole, the world as it is today, and as it will be in the future. Nevertheless, as historical experience shows, the necessary political conditions are required for this purpose.

We all realize that we are at the beginning of this new path of development which mankind has embarked upon. The opportunities of present-day science and technology and of the human intellect are tremendous and unpredictable. The new historical substance in the life of our planet, in the lives of various countries and peoples, will be built and consolidated only in the future.

Hence, the requirement: Regardless of the world's variety, regardless of the existing differences between social systems, we must all cooperate in changing the world together.

All this determines the importance of the task and its universal, humanitarian nature: On the one hand, we must rescue the world and contemporary civilization from self-destruction; on the other hand, we must innovate the world in accordance with the newly existing realities.

If various concepts were developed in the past which resulted in confrontation, the new political thinking is now creating a new world situation.

In this respect, the already accomplished breakthrough in certain directions, as well as the new essence of the approach itself and the new elements contained in the philosophy of solving the vitally important problems of mankind, are of crucial political and practical importance.

The development of international life in recent years shows that along the path of political dialogue and sensible compromise, on the basis of mutual readiness, a positive solution of exceptionally important problems can be achieved.

Qualitatively new conditions for preserving peace and ensuring universal security for mankind are in the process of development.

In addition to this, the new political thinking, launched by the Soviet Union, takes into consideration the experience and interests of all countries, not only those of the socialist countries, and includes the tremendous contribution to world development made by business circles and politicians in western countries.

Our experience, our lessons, and our common conclusions show that it is vitally important today to work to rescue mankind from annihilation, as well as to restructure it.

All this means that there must be a new kind of cooperation in the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres. The further development of mankind should be a process of ever increasing interaction.

Esteemed guests,

In the field of worldwide economy, two systems really exist and are developing with their own characteristic, peculiar features in the economic and political spheres. However, regardless of this, laws and law-governed rules exist under the present-day circumstances, which are universally applicable to the worldwide economy.

Let us consider the laws which are developing in the sphere of the international division of labor today.

We all agree that scientific-technical revolution is prevailing. It is no secret for us that lagging behind in the scientific-technical sphere results in a loss of position in the field of international economic relations.

However, the elaboration of contemporary scientific and technological solutions and their economic application requires the increasing, joint efforts of various countries and enterprises.

In this respect we are all forced to take into consideration the requirements of another law-governed rule—the expansion of integration processes between the economies of individual countries, but also on a regional and global scale.

We evaluate the future common market of western Europe as a law-governed fact. The adoption of increasingly active measures for forming other integrated economic communities in the world is an objective requirement as well. We, the socialist countries and CEMA members, are working in this direction.

We are all engaged in business operations either in the industrial or public services sectors in all kinds of activities. We are all aware of the requirement to expand and search for a broader field for implementing our own opportunities.

Upon the basis of this interest, new opportunities for mutual relations are emerging, and better prospects for cooperation in worldwide economic development will be created.

Let us consider the example of the world market.

The structure of this market is increasingly determined by the following factors: exchange of modern technology and highly scientific products, circulation of capital, public services, and their consumption.

Like all other countries, we are also interested in the development of this market, and this is quite understandable.

However, as you know, for the time being, our efforts in this direction are obstructed by a series of obstacles which impede free exchange.

We adhere to the point of view that, on the basis of objective laws, which apply to the worldwide economy, the principles of international economic cooperation should now be developed and implemented.

I am talking about principles that guarantee a balance of interests in the development of cooperation; a variety of specific forms of cooperation and their unity from the point of common interests, namely economic progress; and the observance of confirmed agreements and rules applying to international trade.

The approaches which we, in Bulgaria, are searching for and developing, are determined from this point of view.

As for our country in particular, at the present stage of development, I can point out the following trends as the main directives of our economic cooperation with other countries: installation of joint enterprises in our country; transfer of knowledge, technology, and management methods; attracting credit and direct investments; and construction of joint enterprises abroad.

We are in favor of intensifying and enriching all forms and mechanisms of economic cooperation.

In this connection I would like to dwell on the opportunities created by the mechanism for our economic management.

In the first place, I would like to stress that, in applying our solutions we have accomplished numerous essential changes, both at the economic basis, as well as in the legal and political superstructure of our society.

This means that we have created a new economic atmosphere; that we have achieved a greater economic independence for the commodity producers, a new legal regulation for direct economic relations, and a much better guarantee for the investments and interests of foreign companies and economic organizations, as well as an atmosphere for promoting joint initiatives of third countries and markets, and so forth.

We are now working for a gradual adaptation of prices and other economic levers to the requirements of the world market. This helps us to introduce higher criteria for our own economic activity, and provides better economic prerequisites for cooperation.

To put it briefly: We have assumed the task, within a very short period, of accomplishing a decisive transition to planning and managing our national economy on the basis of economic levers and norms.

Naturally, we do not delude ourselves by thinking that we have resolved everything in this field. A great deal of work is awaiting us in connection with the implementation of our economic reform.

We are now devoting particular attention to establishing all the necessary conditions and prerequisites for facilitating capital investments by foreign firms and organizations in various branches of our economy. This includes independent investments and associations with our enterprises, as well as promoting investments by our organizations abroad.

I think that Bulgaria, which due to its geographical position, represents a natural bridge and a transportation junction between Western Europe, several socialist countries, and the Middle East, offers advantageous opportunities for investments and other joint initiatives.

We welcome the preparations for and the establishment of several custom-free zones which are expected to expand over certain Bulgarian territories.

Such zones will be established for the initiatives of foreign firms. An economic order in accordance with their requirements will be applied in the aforementioned zones.

In addition to this, we are discussing and studying opportunities for establishing several border zones where Bulgarian and foreign citizens would be authorized to exchange mainly consumer goods for any currency whatsoever.

We are going to pursue a customs policy likely to facilitate the export of goods produced on the basis of foreign investments for joint enterprises in our country, as well as for their supply.

Let me say a few words about the priority trends in which we are interested in connection with developing economic cooperation.

We have created a powerful industrial and technological infrastructure compared to the size of our country. We are producing and exporting electric and motor-driven vehicles, computer-controlled machines, electronic calculating equipment, and chemical and agricultural products. Our task now is to further develop a number of these goods and adapt their methods of production to the most updated, world standards.

We are ready to engage in broad, mutually advantageous contacts for the technological innovation of our production. We are proposing large-scale cooperation in the spheres of trade, public services, and so forth.

An important question for us is the **training of modern management cadres**. We are striving to create opportunities for the training of our cadres abroad, as well as to guarantee the rights and interests of all qualified, foreign specialists who are ready to work in our enterprises or in joint companies.

Let me say a few words about the progress of restructuring in our country:

You are all well-informed people and it will be no surprise to you if I tell you that the restructuring processes in our country are proceeding in a stable manner from the economic, social, and political points of view.

In dealing with restructuring I would like to stress that we are facing numerous difficulties in this respect.

We are convinced that real restructuring can be achieved only by real deeds, under the conditions of a peaceful and creative discussion, under the conditions of a constructive manifestation of the people's individual and collective thought.

The restructuring process which we are implementing in all spheres of social life is gathering strength, and is supported by all strata of our population.

These, esteemed guests, are only some of our specific thoughts on the problems which you are discussing. We cannot say that all these thoughts have been exhaustively treated in my statement.

I would like to express my conviction that the distinguished representatives of business circles from East and West who are present here will not only discuss the problems connected with the subject of their meeting in a creative spirit, but they will find the necessary practical solutions for the constant expansion of economic cooperation.

My personal contacts with some of the participants in this meeting convinced me that they highly appreciate the opportunities for business contacts offered by this meeting. They are ready to support the idea of further consolidating the Varna meeting as an important forum of trade-economic cooperation between East and West.

On behalf of the Bulgarian Government and on my own behalf I would like to welcome this idea and express our readiness to provide the necessary conditions for its implementation.

I would like to express my gratitude for your attention and once more to wish for you fruitful work.

Mladenov Comments on Shevardnadze Speech
AU2809105688 Sofia BTA in English
0922 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] New York, September 28 (BTA corr.)—In connection with the speech of Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union, delivered at the 43rd Session of the U.N. General Assembly, Mr. Petur Mladenov, member of Politburo of the CC of the BCP, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and head of the Bulgarian delegation to the session, made the following statement before the correspondents of BTA and TASS in New York:

"We see in today's speech delivered by Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze an extensive platform for the further restructuring of international relations on a noncoercive, democratic and humane basis. The speech makes a deep scientific analysis of the major problems and contradictions of our time, reveals their dynamism and dialectic, and at the same time points the way to their solution by keeping a reasonable balance of interests."

"By giving priority to the struggle for the survival of mankind, the position of principle of the USSR treats as one whole the complex of military, political, economic, social, human, legal and ecological aspects of universal peace and security."

"I will add that the new constructive ideas contained in the Soviet minister's speech are to be noted for their realism, actuality, and expedience. We are convinced that their realization will be an important step along the path to further improvement of the international climate", Minister Mladenov pointed out.

Zhivkov Meets With Albanian Planning Chairman
AU2709163088 Sofia Domestic Service in
Bulgarian 1600 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov today received Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission of Albania, who conveyed greetings to Comrade Todor Zhivkov from Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Albanian Workers Party and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of Albania.

During the conversation, satisfaction was voiced with the maintenance and continuation of the traditional friendship between the Bulgarian and Albanian peoples and the complete normalization of bilateral relations. Views were exchanged on further expanding cooperation in various fields, and special attention was paid to economic cooperation.

The situation in the Balkans was also discussed, and the need was stressed for further expanding cooperation, good-neighborliness, and understanding.

The meeting was attended by Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of the economy and planning, and Bashkim Raman, Albanian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria.

The Albanian guest was also received by Comrade Georgi Atanasov.

Commerce, Industry Chamber Formed With USSR
AU2709154188 Sofia BTA in English
1434 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Plovdiv, September 27 (BTA)—A Bulgaro-Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry was set up here today which will promote the development of direct contacts between the two countries' enterprises and will help production specialization and cooperation, and, among other things, the setting up of joint enterprises, associations and organizations. These forms of economic relations are mainly seen in the sphere of mechanical engineering, electronics, electrical engineering, the chemical and biochemical industries, agriculture, construction, the light and food industries. The chamber will promote the increase of mutual goods exchange and the improvement of its structure.

It is considered that certain difficulties in handling of the direct contacts will be overcome with the help of the new institution, namely: the lack of information for the production and technical possibilities of the partners, the settlement of certain currency and financial and price problems.

At a constituent assembly a concrete program was adopted on the chamber's activities for the period 1989-1990 and the managing council was elected.

Some 200 Bulgarian and Soviet enterprises have confirmed their membership in the chamber.

Border Troop Delegation Ends Bulgarian Visit
AU2309085988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 22 Sep 88 p 5

[Text] Sofia—A delegation of GDR border troops headed by Lieutenant General Klaus-Dieter Baumgarten, deputy minister for national defense, concluded a several-day visit to Bulgaria on Wednesday [21 September]. The delegation had been invited by the chief of the Bulgarian border guards, Lt Gen Stefan Tsanov. During their stay, the delegation visited units and staffs of the Bulgarian border guards.

Bulgarian Delegation Returns From Iran
AU2209184088 Sofia BTA in English
1752 GMT 22 Sep 88

[“Bulgaro-Iranian Cooperation”—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 22 (BTA)—A Bulgarian trade-economic delegation returned from a working visit in Iran.

The delegation, headed by Mr. Khristo Khristov, minister at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, visited the 14th International Trade Fair and had meetings at Iranian ministries, at the Central Bank, as well as with representatives of trade organizations and companies.

The Bulgarian minister was received by Iran's Prime Minister Mr. Mir Hosein Musavi. At the meeting the two sides expressed satisfaction over the condition of the bilateral relations and willingness for further deepening of the mutual cooperation.

Government Reviews Plane, Train Crashes

AU2709194288 Sofia BTA in English
1832 GMT 27 Sep 88

["Session of the Council of Ministers"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 27 (BTA)—At a special session the Council of Ministers considered the reports of the governmental commissions for clearing up the reasons for the two heavy transport accidents: the aircraft crash at Sofia airport on August 2 with a death toll of 29 people and the railway accident at Iliyantsi railway station on September 14 with 95 people injured, of which 10 died.

A large number of aviation, medical and other experts, some of which from the Soviet Union, were convened to help the governmental commission clear up the reasons for the aircraft accident. There was a simulation of the flight situation done with an aircraft of the same type. The commission found that the flight had taken place at normal meteorological conditions, the plane had been technically fit, and the technical equipment at the airport had operated normally. The flight had taken place at the appointed time.

The basic reason for the accident was found: The crew captain had not checked that the stabilizer was not in a taking off position, which turned out to be fatal. The position chosen by the captain did not secure the necessary distance at the runway for safe termination of the flight in case of need. The crew had broken the requirements of the plane flight operation.

The governmental commission on clearing the reasons for the railway accident, after making the analysis and consulting the experts, had found that the train had been technically fit and moved according to the requirements. The technical equipment of Iliyantsi railway station had also been in good working order. The accident occurred due to non-observance of the manoeuvrable operation regulations.

The government considers the two heavy transport accidents a result of gross breaking of the discipline, and non-observance of endorsed instructions, regulations and directions and of poor control.

The Council of Ministers adopted a special resolution and obliged the Ministry of Transport to endorse measures for the traffic safety improvement and increase of the aircraft and railway inspection role of state control bodies.

A legal proceeding is initiated against the persons responsible for the accidents. Some administrative leaders have been dismissed, others have been severely punished.

Defense Minister Issues Order on Army Day

AU2709111988 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 23 Sep 88 p 1

["Order by the Minister of National Defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria," issued by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, on Bulgarian People's Army Day on 23 September]

[Text] Comrade officers, generals, and admirals, Comrade soldiers, sailors, sergeants, and petty officers, Comrade workers, technicians, engineers, and employees of the military enterprises and offices, soldiers of the reserve forces,

The first armed units of workers and peasants in our country, of which the Bulgarian People's Army is the legal heir, were eternally glorified during the memorable days of the September 1923 antifascist insurrection.

Created during the days of the 9 September Revolution, our army, led by the BCP and shoulder to shoulder with the glorious Soviet army, contributed to the final defeat of Hitlerite fascism.

During the peaceful days after the war, under the leadership and constant care of the BCP Central Committee, and in order to implement the behest of Georgi Dimitrov, our People's Army was constructed according to the example of the Soviet army, and was turned into a modern military force and a loyal guard of the motherland and the achievements of socialism.

The soldiers and commanders of the Bulgarian People's Army greet their holiday united and rallied around the Leninist April policy of the BCP, and with higher achievements in combat and political training. Inspired by the upsurge of restructuring, they are selflessly working, without sparing their efforts, knowledge, and skill, to constantly increase the motherland's defensive power, and to make their contribution to putting the party July Concept into effect and turning the People's Republic of Bulgaria into a highly developed and civilized socialist state.

The workers, employees, and military construction workers of the economic sector of the Ministry of National Defense greet the holiday with new working successes.

In a united combat formation with the fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact member states, led by the Soviet Army, the Bulgarian soldiers are always ready to implement their patriotic and international duty in defense of the cause of peace and socialism.

Comrade soldiers and commanders,
Comrade military workers and employees,
Soldiers of the reserve forces,

I most cordially greet you on Bulgarian People's Army Day. I wish you and your family good health, happiness, and new successes in constructing and defending our socialist motherland.

In connection with the celebration of Bulgarian People's Army Day

I ORDER

Festive fireworks to be conducted on 23 September 1988 in our capital, Sofia; in the oblast centers; and in the city of Sliven.

Long live the Bulgarian People's Army, loyal guard of the motherland and the cause of socialism and peace!

Let unity and combat friendship among the fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact, led by the invincible Soviet Army, strengthen!

Glory to the BCP, organizer and inspirer of all our victories!

Long live our dear motherland, the People's Republic of Bulgaria!

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense.

Jakes Meets With Soviet Official Razumovskiy
LD2209210088 Prague Television Service in Czech
1730 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] Comrade Milos Jakes held talks in Prague today with Georgiy Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. During their conversation, which was attended by Comrade Karel Hoffmann, the two representatives briefed each other on the results of restructuring in their countries. Comrade Razumovskiy praised the conclusions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the July Central Committee plenum, which have become a significant incentive for deepening the restructuring and democratization of the political system in the USSR. Comrade Jakes recalled the experiences of implementing the resolutions of the seventh and ninth sessions of the party Central Committee, and discussed preparations for the October session, which will be devoted to questions of ideological work. The two representatives praised the high standards of cooperation between the two countries and expressed interest in its being enriched and developed.

CPSU's Biryukova Continues Working Visit

Tours South Moravia

AU2309140888 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
21 Sep 88 p 2

[CTK report: "On a Working Visit"]

[Text] Prostějov—Aleksandra Biryukova, the CPSU Central Committee secretary who is currently on a working visit to the CSSR, yesterday [20 September] arrived in South Moravia. Accompanied by CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Frantisek Hanus, she acquainted herself with the production of the clothing industry sector enterprise in Prostějov. In talking to the workers of the clothing industry sector enterprise, she inquired about their wages and their social conditions, about the activities of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in the enterprise, and about women's life outside the enterprise. During her visit she was accompanied by representatives of the regional and district party and state agencies. Vladimir Polyakov, USSR consul general in Brno, was also present. Aleksandra Biryukova later visited the 30th International Engineering Fair in Brno, where she was accompanied by CPCZ Central Committee Secretaries Mikulas Beno and Frantisek Hanus. Vladimir Polyakov was also present there.

Meets With Bratislava Officials

AU2309143888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
22 Sep 88 p 2

[CTK report: "From the Visit by Comrade A. Biryukova"]

[Text] Bratislava—Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party [CPSL],

received Aleksandra Biryukova, CPSU Central Committee secretary who is currently on a working visit to the CSSR, in Bratislava on Wednesday [21 September].

In a cordial talk, Janak briefed Biryukova on the economic activities of production, consumption, and housing cooperatives and on their contribution to the provision of services for the population and the supplies of consumer goods to the market. He also acquainted her with their activities as National Front organizations within our political system. He spoke in greater detail of the practical restructuring of our economic mechanism in the sphere of agricultural cooperatives, in line with the conclusions of the Seventh and Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Sessions and the CPSL Central Committee session. He additionally briefed her on party work in this sector.

The reception was attended by Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CPSL Central Committee secretary, and by Mikulas Beno, CPCZ Central Committee secretary.

Petr Kostikov, USSR consul general in Bratislava, was also present on the occasion.

On the same day A. Biryukova visited the 29 August Works enterprise in Partizanske—an outstanding enterprise for exporting footwear to the USSR. When inspecting the sewing workshops, she showed interest in the working conditions and social care for the working people. She also briefed the party-economic aktiv on the results so far achieved by the USSR in the process of restructuring its economic mechanism and its entire political and social system. She devoted particular attention to the implementation of conclusions adopted by the 44th CEMA session in Prague, especially with regard to specialization, cooperation, and scientific-technical collaboration in the footwear industry.

A. Biryukova was accompanied by Comrades I. Janak and M. Beno.

Received by Jakes

LD2309223288 Prague CTK in English
1500 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 23 (CTK)—General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Milos Jakes received here today Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Aleksandra Biryukova, currently on a working visit to Czechoslovakia.

They discussed questions of a further development of relations between the Czechoslovak and Soviet Communist Parties ensuing from the conclusions of the congresses of the two fraternal parties, of the Seventh and Ninth Sessions of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and the 19th All-Union Conference of the Soviet Communist Party.

The Czechoslovak and Soviet representatives conferred also about the course of restructuring the economic mechanism, political system and other spheres of the two countries' social life, especially about the experience and tasks of the party work in the realization of the social policy.

They also dealt with problems of cooperation in the production and exchange of consumer goods, the role of production, consumer and housing cooperatives and with the experience in the expansion and improvement of services for the population.

Polish 'Crisis' Calls For 'Profound Changes'

AU2309143188 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
21 Sep 88 p 6

[Pavol Minarik Warsaw dispatch: "In Expectation of Profound Changes"]

[Text] The pulse of political life in Poland has again started to beat at a faster pace. The smooth surface of the discussion about ways of solving the country's long-mountain problems and overcoming the crisis more effectively than until now has been stirred up.

This was the tenor of the session of the Polish Sejm on Monday [19 September], which, in view of the general dissatisfaction in the country with the results of the reform up to the present and following sharp criticism of the government for this state of affairs, accepted its resignation. This is the first time in the history of People's Poland that the parliament and the government have striven to resolve a critical situation in this manner. However, the decision was neither sudden nor unexpected. Serious objections to the activity of the Council of Ministers were raised by the recent Eighth Session of the PZPR Central Committee and by the OPZZ, which both reacted directly to the public's discontented voices [arguing] that the reform is divorced from reality, that there is no place for the working man in it, and that the living conditions of the broadest strata of working people are deteriorating.

All these voices are a result of the complicated situation of the economy, which, moreover, has found itself at a turning point. The old and outdated structures of economic management have ceased to operate, while the new ones have not yet brought the expected results. The Polish economy is going through a period of changes which, however, have brought with them more problems than benefits and relief this year. Inflation has considerably increased, by up to 60 percent. The program of planned reductions of subsidies has not been successful; quite to the contrary, subsidies have increased further. In addition, the imbalance of the market has intensified. The government also planned to strengthen the Polish zloty; instead, its value has dropped further, which has found its expression in the "dollarization" of commercial ties, not only among private persons but even among state enterprises (they trade with one another through

the medium of foreign exchange). It has become apparent that, instead of taking effective steps in favor of a radical economic reform, the government was somehow marking time.

Grievous shortcomings in the process of economic reform, connected with rapid price rises and with a shortage of merchandise on the market, increased society's discontent and impatience. In the last few days, the government has often used the argument that the second stage of economic reform proceeds in harmony with the plan. One of the main counterarguments, which was to be heard in this connection also at the Sejm session on Monday, is that the economic situation in the country is not improving in harmony with the plan, and that there is a diametric discrepancy between the state agencies' projections and decisions and their subsequent implementation.

A special Sejm committee which monitored the activity of the Council of Ministers in the introduction of the reform and in the enactment of its extraordinary powers also pointed this out. It submitted to the parliament a detailed analysis of the results of the activity of the Council of Ministers and, at the same time, it expressed serious doubts about its ability to continue to implement the process of transformations, and to do so effectively. The government has lost the confidence of the public, which is a serious political fact that the Sejm took into account in formulating its uneasy position. The functioning of such an important agency of people's power is not possible without its renewal. During the session of the Sejm, voices were also heard to the effect that, although the government is about to be changed, the problems will remain and that no personnel changes, but only changes in the system of economic management, can bring the expected changes.

The Polish parliament, however, concluded that, short of personal accountability for the nonfulfillment of tasks, it will not be possible to break the vicious circle and to take a step forward. It accepted as warranted the argument that the crisis cannot be overcome without profound and fundamental changes in the composition of the government, in state and regional administrations, but also in the system of management, without changes that will, in concert, ensure a radical acceleration of the reform. This is also why it adopted a resolution stating that changes of principle are inevitable not only in the composition of the government, but also in the form of the participation of the coalition, including experts who have long been criticizing the government for its helplessness in introducing the reform. [sentence as published] The entire Polish society now impatiently waits for the government's new composition and for an effective solution to the complicated situation.

CPCZ Central Committee Plenum Set for 10 Oct
LD2309143488 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1400 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Excerpt] The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium today discussed preparations for the 10th session of the

CPCZ Central Committee which will deal with the ideological work of the party and society in the conditions of restructuring and in implementing the reform of the economic mechanism and the development of socialist democracy. It discussed the draft report of the party Central Committee Presidium on this problem, which is to be delivered by Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the party Central Committee. It went on to discuss further documents associated with the preparations for the session and with its program.

The CPCZ Central Committee session has been scheduled to convene Monday, 10 October in Prague. [passage omitted]

Federal Assembly Declares 28 Oct National Day
AU2309105188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
22 Sep 88 p 1

["LL/CTK"-signed report: "October 28 Becomes National Day"]

[Text] Prague—On Wednesday [21 September] the CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium passed legislation whereby 28 October—the day of the birth of the Czechoslovak state—is made national day. The legislation takes effect immediately.

As RUDE PRAVO reported on Saturday [17 September], it was the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium that came up with this initiative. The draft legislation was drawn up by the CSSR Government, which submitted it to the Federal Assembly Presidium on Tuesday [20 September]. At its session on Wednesday [21 September], which was chaired by Comrade Milos Jakes, the Central Committee Presidium of the CSSR National Front also voiced full support for the initiative of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium. Whereas until now 9 May, the day of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army, has been the sole national day, 28 October will also be celebrated as national day starting this year. Both national days will be public holidays.

The legislation passed by the CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium on 21 September changes and amends Law No 93 of 1951 on the national day, public holidays, and commemorative days and days of special importance.

Law No 93 of 1951 designated 28 October, which had until then been celebrated as national day, as the Day of Nationalization, in honor of the signing of nationalization decrees in October 1945. But even thereafter 28 October remained a public holiday, until 1975 when an amendment to this law included 28 October among days of special importance to the Republic—together with 25 February, 29 August, and 7 November—and it became a work day.

The legislative step of the CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium is based on Article 58, paragraph 3 of the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation and is valid from 21 September 1988.

The Presidium of the CSSR Federal Assembly, the CSSR Government, and the Central Committee Presidium of the CSSR National Front stressed at their sessions that this decision proceeds from the importance of the upcoming 28 October when we shall celebrate the 70th anniversary of the founding of an independent Czechoslovak state. Its birth was a historical watershed in the national life of Czechs and Slovaks. It was a product of the national liberation struggle of our people and of the international political conditions at the close of World War I, characterized by the defeat of German imperialism, the fall of the Hapsburg monarchy, and the impact of the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution. October 28 is organically linked with other major events—the nationalization of heavy and other key industries, which was one of the decisive steps of the national and democratic revolution, and with the birth of the Czechoslovak Federation in 1968, which created new constitutional conditions for the coexistence of Czechs and Slovaks and the ethnic minorities living in our state.

Historical awareness of the irreplaceable strength of national traditions in their entire spectrum objectively leads to the acknowledgement and strengthening of all that has been important in the history of our nations, and it is relevant for today.

National Front, Jakes Concur
LD2209020688 Prague CTK in English
1629 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Prague Sept 21 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Czechoslovak National Front today expressed full support for the stand of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium recommending the adoption of legislation declaring October 28 to be a national day of Czechoslovakia. [passage omitted]

In another part of the session, which was attended by Milos Jakes, the Presidium dealt with the principles of cooperation between the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) and the Central Committee of the National Front, the statewide organization grouping political parties and social organizations in the country.

Czech SR Officials Agree on Annual Sessions
AU2209155888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
20 Sep 88 p 2

["ada"-signed report: "Discussing Prague's Development; Meeting of Representatives of the Czech SR Government, the CPCZ Prague City Committee, and Prague National Committee; a Program of Regular Conferences Set Up"]

[Excerpts] Prague (By our reporter)—The joint meeting which was held in the premises of the New Town Hall in Prague on Monday [19 September] discussed the topical

issues of the development and construction of our capital, and dealt with specific ways of resolving the problems of its citizens and visitors. Participating in the joint meeting were representatives of the Czech Government, led by Ladislav Adamec, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and premier of the Government of the Czech SR; and representatives of our capital, led by Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and leading secretary of the CPCZ Prague City Committee, and by Zdenek Horcik, mayor of Prague. [passage omitted]

In the course of their deliberations the session appraised the tasks of the last 2 years of the 5-year plan, and set up a program of regular annual conferences as part of the permanent working practices of the Czech Government and the national committee of the capital of Prague. The result of the gathering was an agreement on the elaboration of a timetable for the gradual realization of the intentions agreed on.

Jakes Discusses Rail Transport With Railwaymen
LD2309163888 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
1500 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Text] On the eve of the celebrations of the Czechoslovak railwaymen's day Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received a delegation of decorated and meritorious workers from the railway sector. During a comradely and candid discussion, members of the delegation briefed Comrade Jakes on the results of their work, the course of restructuring in the railway sector, the fulfilment of the tasks set by the 17th CPCZ Congress and of the 8th 5-Year Plan, and the conclusions of the 7th and 9th sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. They also noted problems in safeguarding the transport requirements, both for the national economy and for citizens, and outlined ways of resolving these.

Comrade Milos Jakes commended the work of railway workers and singled out the importance of rail transport and its regular operation for the economic and social development of our homeland. He stressed the need to improve further the quality of work in the rail sector, the need to raise the standard of services provided in passenger transportation, and the requirements for the punctuality, reliability, and quality of transportation.

Comrade Jakes reminded them that it was necessary to seek ways to improve rail transport, especially through faster modernization and rebuilding of the transportation network, the use of technical equipment, repair capacities, better utilization of the means of transport, and making work on all sectors more effective. Improving the quality of rail transport also calls for the raising of the standard of management and organizational activity, the strengthening of discipline and order, and for tapping and promoting people's initiative.

Control Commission Criticizes Supply Situation
AU2309114788 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
21 Sep 88 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Raising the Quality of Managerial Work"]

[Excerpts] Prague— The 12th session of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission took place in Prague yesterday. It was presided over by Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the commission. The commission discussed the results of two interim checks.

At the Ministry of Trade and Tourism of the Czech SR, the commission checked on how communists among the ranking personnel and the party organization implement measures adapted in the wake of the 1986 check and what they are doing to enhance the stability of the domestic market.

The findings of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission reveal that communists at the Ministry of Trade and Tourism devote attention to resolving the situation in the market and that the sector meets the planned retail trade turnover targets. Despite this, there are many shortcomings in supplies to the population, shortcomings that are accounted for by both retailing and manufacturing organizations, and in the retailing standards [kultura predaja], which are the subject of citizens' justified criticism. Merchandise production, in particular, is lagging behind. Irregularities in supplies, in terms of quantity as well as quality, have not been eliminated, which mainly applies to industrial merchandise. Production enterprises are not fulfilling their own innovation programs, and products that are both functionally obsolete and out of fashion continue to appear on the market. The declining proportion of deliveries of inexpensive types of merchandise meeting the needs of lower-income and medium-income families is alarming. Some industrial organizations give preference to exports over deliveries to the domestic market.

The CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that there has been no marked improvement in the supply situation, as called for by the resolutions of the Seventh and Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Sessions. [passage omitted]

The second point on the agenda was the results of an interim check on how communists among the ranking personnel and the party organization at the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs of the Czech SR implement measures adopted in the wake of the 1987 control and how they create conditions to meet the needs of the population for pharmaceuticals and medical supplies.

The remedial measures adopted thus far have not yet contributed to the needed improvement in supplying pharmaceuticals and medical material to the population and health care facilities. The check revealed the existence of many grave shortcomings in the production,

export, import, and use of pharmaceuticals. Difficulties concerning contractual discipline and disagreements between manufacturing and supplying organizations persist. The utilization of the production capacities of the Spofa economic production unit is unsatisfactory.

Shortcomings in the medical supplies sector enterprise concern, above all, the correct estimate of the need for individual types of pharmaceuticals and medical supplies, which is negatively reflected in the supply situation and in the composition of stocks. The unfavorable situation in supplies of pharmaceuticals that should, and must, be taken regularly by the severely ill cannot be justified. Remedial action must be taken without delay.

Other sectors, especially the chemical industry and agriculture, which owe the pharmaceutical industry some raw and processed materials, are also to blame for the criticized state of affairs. The network of pharmacies also requires modernization. [passage omitted]

The session also discussed a report on a check on the processing of suggestions, comments, and complaints addressed to the East Slovakia CPSL Regional Committee, which revealed a number of serious shortcomings in this activity.

The commission additionally approved [the composition of] work groups and the course to be pursued in the work on amending and revising Article 35 of the CPCZ Statutes and on the "Directives for the Activity of CPCZ Control and Auditing Commissions." [passage omitted]

Briefs

Austrian Border Discussed

Vienna Sept 23 (CTK correspondent)—A four-day 20th meeting of the Czechoslovak-Austrian commission for the investigation of developments on the joint state border ended here today by signing a final protocol. The commission discussed events and damage done on the joint border since the previous meeting in 1987 and stated that the positive situation on the border has stabilized in the past years in harmony with the two states' political efforts to further improve bilateral cooperation. [Text] [LD2409012588 Prague CTK in English 1002 GMT 23 Sep 88 LD]

Cooperation With Cuba

(CTK)—Arturo Guzman Pascual, chairman of the Cuban State Price Committee, concluded his working visit to the CSSR on 23 September. During his visit he conducted negotiations with Pavol Hrivnak, minister chairman of the CSSR Federal Price Office, and signed an agreement on price policy cooperation. [Summary] [AU2609192488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Sep 88 p 2 AU]

Contracts at Brno Fair

Brno (jk)—During the 30th International Engineering Fair in Brno, which ended on 21 September, Czechoslovak organizations signed contracts to the tune of Kcs33.3 billion. Out of this amount, Kcs27.3 billion are accounted for by contracts for deliveries to socialist countries, and Kcs6 billion for deliveries to nonsocialist countries. [Summary] [AU2609192888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Sep 88 p 1 AU]

Honecker Leaves for Working Visit to USSR

*1.D2709141788 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1352 GMT 27 Sep 88*

[Text] Berlin, 27 Sep ADN—The general secretary of the SED Central Committee and GDR State Council chairman, Erich Honecker, travelled this afternoon to the Soviet Union for a working visit. He is accompanied by Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; member of the SED Central Committee Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs; Gerhard Beil, foreign trade minister; and State Secretary Frank-Joachim Herrmann, head of the Chancery of the State Council chairman.

At Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport for the farewell were members of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee Willi Stoph, chairman of the council of ministers; Hermann Axen, Horst Dohls, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Egon Krenz, Erich Mielke, Erich Mueckenberger, and Harry Tisch; and candidate members of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee Inge Lange and Gerhard Schuerer. Present was the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR in the GDR, Vyacheslav Kochemasov.

GDR-Polish Economic Committee Convenes

*AU2609211788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 24-25 Sep 88 p 5*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 22d session of the GDR-Polish Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation was concluded by the signing of a joint protocol on Friday [23 September]. The delegations were headed by Dr Dieter Albrecht, deputy chairman of the GDR side of the joint economic committee, and by Wladyslaw Gwiazda, PPR minister of foreign economic cooperation.

The deliberations focused on the comprehensive supervision of the implementation of the long-term development program for cooperation between the GDR and the PPR in the fields of science, technology, and production through the year 2000, signed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR Council of State, in December 1985, and the definition of measures to further intensify economic relations between the two countries. At the same time, it was stated that the agreements, which were reached on the highest level, have considerably activated economic cooperation.

The government and ministerial agreements which were concluded on the basis of the long-term cooperation program, for example, in the fields of microelectronics, metallurgy, production of oxo-alcohols, pesticides, and insecticides, as well as the other agreed areas of tasks within the long-term program are being purposefully implemented by the appropriate ministries, combines,

enterprises, and research facilities of the two countries. In this, the comprehensive direct working relations between the combines and enterprises of the two countries, which have been further extended, are proving to be successful. The two sides attach increasing importance to cooperation in science and technology. In this context, a positive assessment was made of the stage of implementation of the main directions of cooperation in selected areas of science and technology for the years 1986 to 1990, which in particular comprise the rationalization of production processes, the use of microelectronics and secondary raw materials, and the application of biotechnologies.

Further progress was achieved in specialization and cooperation in production. As a result of its deliberations, the economic committee discussed measures aimed at making increasing use of the existing scientific and production potential to accelerate scientific-technological progress and for the process of intensification.

Both sides expressed their satisfaction at the rates of growth in the exchange of goods which were achieved in the past few years, and stated that the volume of mutual supplies which were provided for in the long-term trade agreement has been considerably exceeded between 1986 and 1988.

At the session the responsible members of the two sides reported on the cooperation in the field of environmental protection.

Polish Military Delegation Visits

*AU2609180088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 24-25 Sep 88 p 2*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [23 September], Colonel General Fritz Streletz, deputy minister for national defense and chief of the Main Staff of the National People's Army, on behalf of Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister for national defense, received a delegation of the Polish Army. The delegation was headed by General of Arms Wlodzimierz Oliwa, vice minister of national defense and chief of the Quartermaster's Office.

Col Gen Streletz briefed his visitors on the initiatives and results in implementing the class assignment of the 11th SED Congress by the members of the National People's Army during the 1987-88 training year. With their great achievements, the soldiers of the GDR have helped to strengthen socialism and safeguard peace, he emphasized. In the course of the meeting the two sides paid tribute to the close relations of comradeship-in-arms between the two armies. The meeting in the Defense Ministry was also attended by Lieutenant General Manfred Graetz, deputy minister for national defense and chief of the Rear Services Main Administration.

Honecker Interview on Ties With Spain Reported
*LD2609224188 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0958 GMT 26 Sep 88*

[Text] Berlin 26 Sep (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR's Council of State, has granted the Spanish daily newspaper EL PAIS an exclusive interview in connection with his upcoming visit to the Kingdom of Spain. For this purpose he received the newspaper's editor, Senora Marilo Ruiz de Elvira, in the Council of State building today.

During the meeting Erich Honecker answered questions on GDR-Spanish relations, on relevant problems on securing the peace and disarmament, and on GDR domestic policies.

By way of introduction, Erich Honecker mentioned his satisfaction at the upswing in cooperation between the two countries during the last years and called for a deepening and further building-up of relations, particularly in the field of economics. The GDR Chairman of the Council of State stressed that he was looking forward with great interest to the talks with King Juan Carlos I and Queen Sofia, Prime Minister Felipe Gonzales and other public figures.

Deputy Minister Receives British Officials
*LD2409122588 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1818 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] Berlin, 23 Sep (ADN)—Ernst Krabatsch, GDR deputy minister of foreign affairs, today received David Gore-Booth, head of the Planning Department of the British Foreign Office, and Paul Lever, head of the Security Policy Department at the Foreign Office, who are in Berlin for consultations with leading representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The two sides agreed that the trend for the better in international relations which began with the intermediate-range missile treaty, must be made permanent. Key issues in this were the reaching of an agreement on the 50 percent reduction of strategic nuclear offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States while strictly observing the ABM Treaty, a global ban on chemical weapons, the gradual halt of nuclear weapon tests, and the early start of negotiations on the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The Warsaw Pact's disarmament proposals were explained to the British guests. These aim to make it possible to reduce every kind of weapon according to the principle of equality and equal security with strict controls. In this connection the importance of regional initiatives was also emphasized and the relevant GDR proposals explained.

The two sides assessed the consultations between representatives of the two states' foreign ministries as an important element for the deepening of political dialogue.

The talk was attended by Nigel Broomfield, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Border Fence Reinforcement Reported
*AU2709152588 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
RUNDSCHAU in German 27 Sep 88 p 4*

[Report by DPA correspondent Manfred Praechlein: "The GDR Continues Its Work for the Perfect Border Fence"]

[Text] After the dismantling of the self-firing devices along the inner-German border, the number of refugees arriving in Bavaria has again increased considerably. According to the Federal Border Police, the GDR has tried to perfect its border barriers by raising and improving the fence of the protective strip in the hinterland. Nevertheless, as seen from the Bavarian side the balance reads as follows: "The frontier barriers have not become more effective, but different." After the absolutely lowest level in 1983 and in 1985, when only 13 GDR citizens managed to defect to the FRG each year, the number of refugees increased to 23 in 1986 and 40 last year. The total of 26 defectors so far this year makes it likely that the 1986 figure will again be reached this year.

In September 5 years ago, a few weeks after Bavarian Minister President Strauss' (CSU) first visit to the GDR, the GDR began to remove the deadly SM-70 self-firing weapons near the divided village of Moedareuth. Up until then, a little less than one-quarter of the 422-km-long Bavarian-Thuringian border had been equipped with some 16,000 self-firing devices. The following spring, the GDR border troops also began to clear the minefields.

Until the early eighties, the GDR had set up a second barrier system, the protective strip fence, 500 meters behind the border. This fence was 2.4 meters high. Its lower part consisted of metal grid plates, and its upper part of electric wire that triggered an alarm when touched. Since 1983, this early-warning system has been systematically and almost completely modified. A total of 304 km of the 352-km protective strip fence has since then been raised to 3.2 meters, enforced with concrete plates driven into the ground—to prevent people from digging through beneath it, and—on the GDR side—equipped with electric wires leading to the top of the fence.

The Federal Border Police estimate that the electric wires—with a maximum of 50 volts and only 10 cm apart—can easily be used as a ladder to climb over the fence. However, the potential refugee would then find himself in a corridor with dogs, some 5 meters wide and

50 meters long. The animals and technical gadgets trigger off acoustic and optical alarms. A crew of four men in each observation tower usually has enough time to take up position at the metal fence and—with the help of reinforcements that are called in—prevent the refugee from crossing the border. "The potential refugee is detected so early—something he might not even be aware of—that the border troops no longer have to rely on self-firing devices or mines to kill the refugee," an observer says.

The GDR continues to make frontier barriers more sophisticated and perfect. Some of their latest "achievements" are towers in the hinterland which look like raised blinds, a metal grid wall which has replaced the old wall near Blankenstein, and rope barriers. Fixed between two concrete plates and running across two T-girders, the rope barriers are designed to prevent vehicles from breaking through one of the 340 gates in the fence, as has happened in the past. A total of 120 rope barriers have been set up over the past 4 weeks.

The alteration of the frontier barriers is likely to be continued into the nineties. Time and again there are reports that the GDR wants to completely dismantle the metal grid fence which until 1984 carried the SM-70's. However, Federal Border Police have no sure evidence of this.

New Measures To Limit Trips, Emigration to West
AU2809115088 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
28 Sep 88 p 16

["W.K." article: "East Berlin Limits Trips to the West"]

[Text] Bonn-Berlin—According to reports from East Berlin, the high number of people fleeing the country and the labor shortage in the GDR are allegedly to be curbed by means of a new internal administrative regulation. The authorities in the towns and kreise that are responsible for granting exit permits have been instructed to reduce visits to the West by citizens below retirement age and to allow university graduates to travel abroad with their spouses only in exceptional cases, that is, if there is a guarantee that they will return. According to information from the GDR, this regulation has allegedly been applied since 1 September.

The examination of figures concerning trips from the GDR to the FRG during the first 8 months of this year reveals a tangible drop since early summer. Whereas the portion of visitors below retirement age reached 36.7 percent of the total registered number of visitors during the first quarter, the figure had declined to about 21 percent by the end of August.

Currently no changes can be observed regarding emigration modalities, which are applied differently in the various GDR bezirke and often according to the discretion of the officials. The SED apparently sticks to the principle of incalculability for applications so that

nobody can claim that he is entitled to an emigration permit. The settlement of "old cases"—applications that have been sent in several times—also continues. New applicants, however, are facing increasingly stiff restrictions. The judicial organs frequently impose heavy fines on citizens who insist on emigration in spite being rejected. The SED presumably hopes that draconian fines will at least postpone applications for emigration because only those GDR citizens are granted resettlement who have paid their debts. At the same time, the number of political prisoners is increasing.

With the first buying-off action following the GDR amnesty in 1987, which has been completed just now, the FRG Government has achieved the early release of over 250 political prisoners to the West.

Authorities Ban DIE KIRCHE Issue
LD2809092588 Hamburg DPA in German
1142 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Excerpt] East Berlin, (DPA)—GDR officials have once again massively interfered in the work of the church press and banned the most recent edition of the East Berlin Evangelical weekly DIE KIRCHE. Last weekend's edition, which was to cover the synod of the Evangelical churches in the GDR held in Dessau, was not printed. This was confirmed by church circles today. After state objections, the Berlin-Brandenburg church leadership was prepared to make changes "to the limit of compromiseability," but had not found "a spark of understanding" among the officials. The 25 September Schwerin MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG also had not appeared up to today because of state interference. [passage omitted]

State Council Decision on 1989 Local Elections
AU2209140588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 20 Sep 88 p 1

["Resolution of the GDR State Council on Carrying Out Elections for Kreis Assemblies, City Assemblies, and Local Government Representative Bodies in the Year 1989, Dated 19 September 1988"]

[Text] At the proposal of the SED Central Committee, in accordance with Article 72 of the GDR's Constitution and Section 6 of the law of 24 June 1976 on the elections for the GDR's people's representative bodies—electoral law—(Law Gazette I, No 22, p 301), and the version of the amending law of 28 July 1979 (Law Gazette I, No 17, p 139), the elections for the kreis assemblies, city assemblies, city bezirk assemblies, and local government representative bodies are declared for the year 1989.

The elections will be held on 7 May 1989.
Berlin, 19 September 1988
E. Honecker,
chairman of the GDR State Council
H. Eichler,
secretary of the GDR State Council.

Central Committee Discusses Lukacs Keynote Speech
LD2809003088 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1500 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Report on Central Committee session in Budapest on 27 September by correspondents Attila Balint, Gabor Bankuti, and Andras Domany; individual correspondents' reports unidentifiable]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] If we subtract the 1-hour lunch break, the session of the Central Committee is now in its 6th hour. This afternoon, the members of the body, which is chaired by Janos Berecz, are discussing the keynote speech submitted by Secretary Janos Lukacs on the party's situation, on some topical issues of the party's life, and domestic politics. [passage omitted]

[Begin Lukacs recording] Four months have passed since the national party conference. This is a short time; it nevertheless has been rich in events, changes, and new and more-than-once unaccustomed developments. Many things have happened, although many people still consider this to be too little. Indeed, there are some who say that nothing has happened or changed. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Correspondent] The Central Committee secretary urged sweeping changes and a genuine turnaround in economic policy and in economic direction, adding that we are again on the threshold of important decisions.

He spoke about the debates taking place in the party, during which genuine politicizing is occurring in some places, and good, democratic solutions are taking shape. The good examples, however, also caution that the process is taking place in the county and town leaderships, rather than in the basic organizations.

The keynote speech also mentioned a review of the Constitution and broadening the freedom of assembly and association, from which I quote: The possibility, in principle, for the expression of alternative ideas is being diverted to a practical plane [gyakorlati sikra tereloedik]. New processes are underway in the trade unions, in the Hungarian Communist Youth League, in the People's Front, and new organizations are starting to operate. In the case of the New March Front, the Politburo appreciated the fact that although their stand on several essential issues diverges from the party leadership, they wish to operate in the interest of socialism.

The statement by the Central Committee secretary pertained to the Hungarian Democratic Forum and other organizations, to the effect that a fundamental requirement is to respect the Constitution, including the socialist social system [szocialista tarsadalmi berendezkedes] and the MSZMP's leading role. The party organizations, said Janos Lukacs, should consider local matters themselves, which relationship they will shape with the groups being formed in their surroundings, and having regularly discussed the existing situation, they should flexibly

determine their tasks. Also included here is the case of which organizations they advise or disapprove of, and the admission of party members. In conclusion, Janos Lukacs said:

[Begin Lukacs recording] Our initiatives and practical measures adopted for a transformation of the system of political institutions and for a renewal of the legal order are supported by the decisions of the national party conference. What is carried through in this sphere can be described, without exaggeration, as genuine change. [passage omitted]

Nevertheless, we would not consider it appropriate to change the essence and main line of our policy due to pressure from any side. This is one reason why we propose that the Central Committee should reaffirm its intention to continue to proceed on the road marked out at the party conference and to take further measures to extend the process of renewing the system of political institutions and creating socialist pluralism. In this process we feel the main task is to strengthen the party and its capacity for pursuing politics, action, and unity.

In the party conference's phase of pledging, our intentions for renewal and our statements of principled policy enjoyed unconditional and united support. However, due to the realization [of these pledges], a certain polarization has now come into being. [passage omitted]

At the moment, another question which has not been adequately discussed is the assessment of what phase of socialist construction we are in. It is understandable that differing views on this subject have come to light, just as differing views exist on what theoretical and practical conclusions must be drawn from the doubtless changes in society's class and stratum structure, as regards the character of the state and the party.

However, this means that we must free ourselves as soon as possible from the numerous prejudices and simplifications which have stuck to the concept of unity. We ought to consider it natural that because our movement is, fortunately, multicolored, this multicolored characteristic may still result in unity where issues of substance are concerned, if we handle the questions effectively. [end recording]

[Correspondent] After this Janos Berecz, who was presiding, announced that 1 hour before a letter had come to the Central Committee session from the No 10 constituency basic organization of Budapest's 14th District. Although the Central Committee's procedures do not allow for such cases, it is permissible to read the letter because of its content.

The letter, which welcomes the fact that the Central Committee has placed the report on domestic politics and the party's situation on the agenda, expresses its

grave concern regarding the situation that has come about due to the confused state of affairs, the tone of the mass communication media, and the ever-defensive attitude of the party.

According to the letter, the word of those groups and individuals who deny and question every value of the [past] 40 years carries more weight than that of the defenders of socialism.

Furthermore, the letter refers to demonstrations that have taken place recently and to the fact that certain people have already demanded the dissolution of the Workers' Guard.

I quote: Why does the party leadership not stand by its proclaimed objectives? Why does it not mobilize the communist masses against those who fish in muddy waters? Let us not allow the party to be smashed apart, the letter stresses.

A lively debate started after Janos Lukacs' speech; first Sandor Borbely, Ferenc Toekci, Gyorgy Aczel, Jozsef Bonya, and Istvan Huszar asked to speak. They all expressed their agreement with the contents of the report and pointed out that public opinion is watching with interest and quite simply with anxiety the process of political renewal.

In the debate they urged a more open adoption of stands by party members and communists, and that the Central Committee, as Janos Lukacs also mentioned, should in the near future analyze the more important issues of our domestic political life thoroughly and in detail. In this framework, it is necessary to clarify our relation to the past 43 years, because the values could also become endangered if the results are boundlessly attacked. Several speakers said that those who are capable of pointing to our real values should be allowed to speak more frequently. The party must stand at the head of the processes and it must decide what stand to take regarding its leading role and operation. If the party does not function effectively, this could then cause social anarchy. If a person does not connect his past conviction with that of today, then people will think that he wears a mask today as well.

Responsibility, too, should be a criterion of the development of the attained freedom. The question arose: Has the time not come when it is necessary to take a stand not only against existing conservatism but also, so to speak, against unbridled right-wing tendencies? There were those who expected ammunition from the Central Committee session, stressing the danger of putting local interests, which may not always even be backed by adequate scientific thoroughness, above national interests, and hiding behind the slogan of democracy. The various outlooks within the party should not be publicized outside the party. This leads to uncertainty in the ranks of the party membership. The party should in any case not adopt its opponents' method of debate; and

debate, and the adoption of stands, should not be characterized by hurried remarks. There must be cooperation with the new groupings which are organized on a constitutional basis—that is, those which recognize socialism, the party's leading role, and the international commitments. However, we heard in the debate that if something not only such as this came into being, then this would be an expression of the real divisions in society. [passage omitted]

The following spoke in the debate on foreign political issues: Pal Tetenyi, Lajos Morocz, Agnes Szepe, Geza Kotai, Gyula Kallai, Ferenc Karpati, Janos Kadar, and Karoly Grosz. The speakers highlighted that increasing sympathy is accorded to the flexibility of Hungarian foreign policy. A consistent endeavour of our foreign policy is the reduction of European armed forces and conventional armaments. They approved of the fact that the party had accepted the meeting, initiated by the Romanian side, in which the general secretary affirmed: The normalization and development of relations continues to be our endeavour, as well as the shaping of good-neighborly relations. They also agreed that at the discussions Karoly Grosz opened up all the issues burdening Hungarian-Romanian relations. Several speakers considered it necessary to continue a thorough study of the Romanian situation and the worthy presentation of the situation before the widest forums of publicity.

Szuross, Lukacs Speeches Detailed

*LD2809035588 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1830 GMT 27 Sep 88*

[Text] [Presenter] Good evening. This morning, the MSZMP Central Committee met in session while chaired by Janos Kadar. Here is our detailed report on the work of the session:

[Reporter] First of all, Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros gave a briefing about topical foreign political and international issues. He highlighted that Karoly Grosz's visit to the United States and Canada was successful beyond expectations. Matyas Szuros spoke in particular about the bilateral agreement between our country and the Common Market, warning at the same time that a breakthrough would require an improvement in our economy's competitiveness.

The report also dealt in detail with Hungarian-Romanian relations. In his verbal supplement Matyas Szuros said: We must also examine the possibility of steps to be taken in the United Nations. As he said, it is not an objective of Hungarian foreign policy to discredit or isolate Romania. If we raise the problems in the United Nations and in other international organizations, then we wish to draw the attention of public life and responsible politicians to the grave violation of human and nationality rights.

Speaking about the taking of Hungarian-South Korean relations, Matyas Szuros dwelled on the DPRK's sharp reaction and expressed his hope that the Pyongyang leaders will supplement their stand with a thorough assessment of the Hungarian information issued on the decision.

The presenter of the second point on the agenda was Central Committee Secretary Janos Lukacs. We quote from his account of the party's situation, about party life, and domestic political issues:

[Begin Lukacs recording] Dear comrades. Speaking about the party's situation, I would first of all like to mention a few organizational and political experiences about the exchange of membership cards. It is purely a question of an organizational necessity creating an opportunity for the ordering of ideas formed about the situation of society, of the economy, and of the party, and about the leadership and the tasks. It has transformed passions, emotions, and a willingness to act that does not easily find direction, into thought, into political will, and into an elemental intention for renewal.

The fact that more than 800,000 people consider the MSZMP, which is undergoing renewal, to be the most suitable tool for their social and public activities, for shaping their socialist conviction into a social force, is fundamentally important. This can entitle those who see the guarantee of the prosperity of the Hungarian people in the creation of a socialist society to feel hope and confidence.

At the same time, neither can we pass by without noting that the number of members—for the first time since 1957—decreased during the past year. The number of those who have left our ranks is considerable, and the admission of new members has come to a standstill.

This, in a certain sense, is a natural consequence, owing to the accumulated economic and social problems. At the same time, it sheds light on the simple truth that trust in the party, of which a measuring point is the development of membership recruitment and the number of members, can be increased only by a clear program that takes into account the real, sociopolitical requirements. It can be increased only by successful, practical work in this spirit, and in the case of a governing party, by good government.

For all this, we still do not recommend that the Central Committee qualify the changes which have occurred in the number and composition of members as merely self-purification. However, we consider it a task that the party's organization and its members, amid and in connection with the other tasks of political activity [politizalas], should devote more energy and greater attention to the admission of new members, to a halting of the unfavorable tendencies. It is especially important that, having increased the party's political attraction, we

should speed up the rapprochement of younger age-groups with the party. We should increase their proportion within the membership. The present composition of our party membership makes it possible for the MSZMP to function as a mass party with a solid and considerable class basis, one which enjoys serious influence in the most varied social strata, as a party which, in the token of the historical objectives of the workers' class, could be capable of uniting into a community people who are able and willing to politicize, out of the people as a whole and out of all strata of society.

Of course, we do not believe that the principled ideological debate is completed with the facts. On the contrary, the Politburo considers it necessary that with great circumspection, with the appropriate profundity, and without passions, we should substantially debate, both within the Central Committee and in a wider sphere, the fundamentally important issues of the MSZMP's character and social basis.

Dear comrades: 4 months have passed since the national party conference. This is a short time, but it nevertheless has been rich in events, changes, and new and more-than-once unaccustomed developments. Many things have happened, although many people still consider these to have been too few. Indeed, there are some who say that nothing has happened or changed.

Hiding behind this qualification of things is the illusion existing in a wide circle of our movement, too. Accordingly, in order to change reality and to solve existing problems, a few good resolutions and decisions are sufficient. As a result of these, sweeping and perceptible change can be immediately expected in every sphere of political, economic, and social life.

A good proportion of people today are impatient, and the atmosphere is deteriorating. We see this ourselves, and this is also mirrored week after week by the information reports. A fundamental cause of this is that a turnabout has not yet taken place in the performance of the economy, and as a consequence of this the standard of living of significant numbers of social groups is deteriorating while the cost of living is quickly increasing.

However, we cannot promise a turnabout, a rapid change, in the short term. Indeed, we must caution against illusions. Therefore, it is again necessary to stress: It is not possible to reverse the consequences of a process of more than 1 and 1/2 decades, the breaking down on an enormous scale of the external and internal economic balance, into things which have not happened, in 1-2 years.

For a long time we lived beyond our real possibilities and failed to adapt to international economic demands while in the meantime a good number of countries changed course and modernized their economies. We have fallen into debt, because we lagged behind in development.

Therefore, if it is our program—and it cannot be otherwise—to try to reduce the lagging behind and at the same time try to live according to our real possibilities, this means that at one and the same time we pay the old bills and invest in the future.

Thus, indeed, little is left for today. Even so we must consistently assert that the party's leadership and the government cannot promise and cannot act irresponsibly merely in order to push today's conflicts into the future. We strive for radical changes and a real turnabout in economic policy and in economic direction. A witness to this is precisely the last Central Committee session. In the nearest future we will again be on the threshold of a series of big decisions.

At the same time, in preparing decisions to be made in the interest of the future, we cannot lose sight of the daily tasks either. Our future scope of movement also depends on the continuous fulfillment of the tasks laid down in the stabilization program. In the knowledge of this, we must consistently stick to the socioeconomic program adopted last year and reaffirmed at the party conference. We must show firm resolve in the course of implementation. If we look at the overall economic changes and the expected processes of 1988, it is obvious that the stabilization process is being accompanied by many sharpening economic and social tensions.

This affects the assessment of the situation, society's public mood, because this can be directly felt. However, the people cannot directly feel the improvement of the trade and payments balance. However, we must see it clearly, and it is necessary to make the various layers of society aware: Without accepting the tensions and conflicts of stabilization, the foundations for any type of later resurgence [kibontakozas] cannot be laid. Therefore, the shaping of public sentiment and the public mood is extremely important. It is necessary to make these aware of the country's real results, because an apostate society is unable to pick up the glove which the surrounding world has cast in front of it; it is unable to reply to the challenge.

For the correct reply, for a flexible and successful reaction, what is needed is a public opinion which features both a self-confidence that nourishes itself on results and a resoluteness in accepting difficult tasks.

Let everyone who feels responsible for the country's fate judge and decide, with realistic knowledge of our situation, about which further efforts he can contribute to the realization of our stabilization tasks. Flexibility, speedy reaction, and a better readiness for cooperation are oft-voiced requirements, and our remaining tasks for this year in every field of economic management demand their assertion with elemental force. These must confront the policy of wait and see, with playing at tactics, which do not serve the interests of the future,

even if these are built on some type of realistic expectation, especially if the stakes at hand are the exploitation of convertible export possibilities.

The directing organizations must regulate the economic processes unambiguously and calculably. This is now particularly timely. And the managing organizations must understand that the country and the administration do not possess the possibility or right to keep artificially alive a production line which has become devalued internationally as well. Therefore, every wasted minute worsens not only the conditions of general unfolding [kibontakozas], but also our own future chances.

We cannot leave unmentioned the specific distortions apparent in the party debates on economic issues, and unfortunately even in practical work. On the one hand, there is a preponderance of issues connected with distribution, while little substantive attention is devoted to entrepreneurship, to management, to production, to order, to discipline, and to organization. On the other hand, in the field of management, stances motivated by local interests, for alleviations, for exceptions, and for avoiding the need to change, have become dominant.

This attitude is closely connected with an incorrect understanding of the party's social role. The idea that the party is obliged to represent national and social interests has recently lost alarming ground, and the unconditional representation of local interests has come to prevail. This situation cannot be tolerated. The exposure and handling of local conflicts is a basic demand for every party organization. However, its meaning and guideline can be found only in the framework of the party's general social endeavors.

Dear comrades: In the field of qualifying the events of recent months, one particular thing is first and foremost a problem within the party: the strikingly outmoded system of values and standards of political work. Unfortunately, many people still consider political work to be organizational moves; they consider as performance the drawing up of work plans and their fulfillment according to a timetable, and they consider as a standard the number of events, of meetings, of sessions, and of speeches. We must formulate new standards—and in our view this process has irretrievably begun as a result of the party conference—which befit a party engaged in politics and which are in keeping with the level of information, education, political culture, democracy, and the ability to argue and exert influence.

If we want to keep abreast of our tasks, then in this field as well we must attain a breakthrough, a turnabout.

In connection with this and with the events and changes of the past 4 months, we would like to recall that the debate and policy statement of the national party conference were centered around the transformation of the system of political institutions. The Politburo is of the

view that in this field the party organs have taken significant initiatives, and that the state organs have in many respects also introduced a new kind of practice.

As a result of all this, in harmony with the policy statement of our May conference, a more liberated, more open, and more democratic public life is being formed. A perceptible change has taken place regarding both details, and the entire matter. At our initiative, within a short time, the draft law on the right of assembly and association will be elaborated, and it is now already the subject of widespread social debate. The new draft electoral law has been completed and will be made public in the near future. The review of the Constitution has begun. Scope has opened for a stating of various interests and views, in the means of mass communications. With the gaining of ground in the freedom of assembly and association, the possibility, in principle, for the expression of alternative ideas is being diverted to a practical plane. Processes worthy of attention and support are underway in the trade union movement and in the Communist Youth League, as a result of which both organizations will convene in November national conferences which promise to be significant.

The elaboration of ideas, in accordance with the new situation, is taking place within the Patriotic People's Front as well. Our initiatives and practical measures adopted for a transformation of the system of political institutions and for a renewal of the legal order are supported by the decisions of the national party conference. What is carried through in this sphere can be described, without exaggeration, as genuine change.

The issue at hand here is a longer process, and several things follow from this. First, the final result cannot be perceived immediately, and this can be a source of impatience.

Second, the process, owing precisely to the importance of the changes, already at the initial stage as a matter of course elicits a polarization of opinions. This is apparent both within and outside the party. Anxiety, confusion, and conditions which are termed a precounterrevolutionary mood are encountered, as well as approval, encouragement, the underestimation of moves up to now, and the radical all-or-nothing attitude.

We consider it to be a fundamental result that considerably more people than before see the sense of stating their opinions, views, and proposals. We decided at the party conference that we wanted to stimulate and encourage this. Naturally, we cannot ignore the dangers and certain undoubtedly anarchist and negative phenomena and manipulatory aspirations. These can, and must be, suppressed with adequate patience and circumspection, political work, and legal means.

Nevertheless, we would not hold it appropriate to change the essence and main line of our policy due to pressure from any side.

We propose that the Central Committee should affirm its support of citizens within the framework of the Constitution and the law, and provide them with their political rights, including the right to association and assembly. It should approve the government and state organs to proceed in accordance with this. At the same time it is also expedient to draw attention to the fact that among the relevant criteria of constitutionality are, i.e., the recognition of the socialist social system of the Hungarian People's Republic and the MSZMP's leading role, as well as observance of our alliance commitments.

On the basis of their present known political documents, it is for the time being difficult to judge, for example, what is the relation of certain organizations to these essential elements of the Constitution. The clarification of this is the task of the organizations concerned.

We believe that a person who demands clear, open speech from others should himself speak clearly. We consider it important that the consultations which have gotten underway on these issues between representatives of the government, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, and other organizations—patient discussions of constructive intentions on both sides—should continue.

Second, the Central Committee should underline that the MSZMP's approach to the particular intellectual currents, groupings, and organizations will be determined, apart from the words and political declarations, first and foremost by deeds and actions. The MSZMP's starting point invariably is that in the interest of solving the problems that face the nation, it strives for dialogue, for seeking out the possible areas of cooperation. Our objective is to recreate national consensus and not to divide the nation.

At the same time, the party cannot disregard the efforts within the various movements to foil dialogue, escalate tension, and conduct a policy of *faits-accomplis*.

We consider it regrettable that for the time being this is the prevailing voice in the Federation of Young Democrats. Every organization bears responsibility for seeing that its declared objectives and methods should be endorsed by reality, and that the comprehensive economic, social, and political reforms should be fulfilled along with the maintenance of political stability.

For its own part the MSZMP rejects aggressive conduct and the unworthy methods for the new political culture that the federation is demanding, and it supports the government and state authorities in safeguarding legality.

Third, the local party organizations, by keeping in view the above outlined principles and by relying on the membership's experience and opinions, should themselves assess the activity of the various groups that have evolved in their field of operation and the political

conditions that are to be developed. With their standpoints, they should orientate the party members in debates at the open forums of other organizations. Let them brief themselves on the experiences of communists who take part in these debates or who in other ways have a personal relationship with the representatives of the various groups.

Fourth, the Central Committee should urges the acceleration of work on drafting the trade union law, the legal regulation of employees' collective representative rights, as well as the methods of settling work shop conflicts, including strikes. It would be expedient if in the course of this work we would build on international experiences, in harmony with the international agreements signed by the Hungarian Government. At the same time we consider it necessary that the Central Committee points out that work stoppages in Hungary today do not promote a lasting solution to either local or national problems, but instead reduce international confidence in the country.

If somewhere direction is weak, if there is no order and discipline, if democracy is restricted, this must be resolved not by the absence of work, but rather by the assertion of responsibility, the extension of democracy.

Esteemed Central Committee, it is our conviction that in recent months significant changes have also begun to take place within the party. Our membership knows better, and it examines the possibilities and the tasks in broader connections than previously. At the same time it observes critically the activity of the new leadership. The working relationship of the party's central, regional, and local organs has changed. Breaking with the method of detailed directives, the transfer has begun to a direction that respects the autonomy of local and regional organs. This is particularly striking in the relationship of the Central Committee and the regional party organizations.

As we know, the Central Committee has not made a decision on how the implementation of the stand of the national conference should be organized in the counties and locally. It has stressed that there is no need for this, because the party conference's policy statement, spirit, and the Central Committee decisions made since then, in themselves provide direction for the party organizations and for the party membership to shape and execute their tasks.

At the same time, the Central Committee has encouraged party members, building on the party's initiatives and proposals and creating the necessary conditions for renewing their activity, to review the situation and independently determine and decide the forms of their tasks. The factual display of the developments in this area is also expedient, because there are some who believe that the changes have stopped at the county boundary, so to speak. What do the facts show? Regional party committees have set about formulating the tasks which arise from the policy statement of the party

conference, to renewing the bodies. But uncertainty can be detected in judging at what forum, in what form, and with what content this should take place. In Hajdu-Bihar County, the party committee satisfied a demand which appeared for the holding of a party conference. The majority of party committees adopted a schedule of tasks and have entrusted work groups to collate the opinions and suggestions of members of the bodies, and have elected nominating committees to prepare planned personnel changes. After summarizing the opinions and suggestions, the bodies have been and are being renewed at party committee sessions.

In conjunction with the counties, local party committees are also analyzing the experience of their work. In several towns, including county towns, party conferences are being or have been organized. But in the majority of cases the tasks are determined within the framework of party committee sessions.

The modernization of the administrative system, decided upon earlier, has begun. Decisions about this are made at factory, office, and institution party committees, and at party leaderships and party conferences or merged members' meetings. These are important political events. They discuss the tasks arising from the policy statement of the national party conference, and they elect new party committees, which are without an executive committee. This work will be completed by the end of the year. A few town and district party committees are also initiating the establishment of a single steering body.

Dear comrades: Although many have criticized it, we nevertheless believe that the Central Committee's decision not to prescribe as compulsory the convening of party conferences and entrusting the local and regional party bodies to carry out their conclusions has been proven correct. In many places it was precisely this conclusion which launched passionate political debates which far exceeded the limits of organizational matters. The recognition that political work cannot be conducted in the old ways has strengthened. A growing number of examples, and more recently the Debrecen town and Hajdu-Bihar party conferences, have proven that the party membership is capable of confidently and resolutely grasping the movement's local affairs, of finding suitable leaders, and by struggling and fighting of forcing a turnabout in local politics as well.

We must state, however, that this process for the moment is focused not on the basic organizations but primarily on the county and town level. It is true that facing up to local problems and tasks has begun with painful labor pains. However, in this laborious process, real values are also born: initiatives and decisions in the entirety of which there is a giant of the future sketched out at the party conference—of the party, a real party engaged in politics, which is what we all want.

The Central Committee, this time too, says that it supports and aids the party members and party organizations who have initiative, who have intend to improve the party's work and their own activity. We stress once again that in line with the policy statement of the party conference, it is their right and duty to express an opinion, to express an opinion about the work of the leading party bodies as well as officials. At the same time, we call attention to the fact that even noble aims do not justify ignoble means. Mutual threats, slander, personal remarks, and the violation of basic human, moral, and political norms cannot be tolerated in debates within the party.

In the party conference's phase of pledging, our intentions for renewal and our statements of principled policy enjoyed unconditional and united support. However, as a result of the realization [of these pledges], a certain polarization has now come into being.

Quite simply we could say: There are some people whose enthusiasm is abating because what we decided upon is actually happening, while others are dissatisfied because what we collectively decided is all that is happening. So in truth, we again are in the middle of a peculiar struggle on two fronts. But we cannot accept the trend which disapproves of the resolutions reached at the party conference, or the practice which has evolved in the wake of these; nor can we accept the view of those who want to review every existing and functioning element of policy.

In connection with this I mention that in the final instance, the introduction of the necessary reforms is hampered by the views of those who because of daily political considerations describe the past 40 years as one monumental mistake.

The debate, even if it is occasionally passionate, is the indispensable means for rapprochement. This is a condition, if not in itself a guarantee, of the creation of unity.

So, it is our duty and in our interest to secure the freedom of expression of opinions within the party, as well as a rational and liberated debating atmosphere. The organs of the mass media can also make a significant contribution to this, provided that they handle their long-awaited independence, which they are also welcoming now, and openness in conjunction with professional competence, with a sense of responsibility and constructive intentions.

Dear comrades: We must coexist with the debates, the various views and directions for a longer term within the party as well. This is also made probable by the fact that the implementation of our numerous major undertakings is to enter its final legislative phase, creating new conditions for party actions and the entire party's work.

At the national party conference we proclaimed that we would work for the creation of a real politicizing party, one whose main strength is provided by independently functioning basic organizations operating within the framework of the common political principles and goals. We feel that both the political situation and the changing style of leadership have opened new and very broad possibilities for independent political activity.

There is no national or regional party question in which a party organization or a basic organization is not competent or in which its opinion does not count. There is no forum of public life or social debate in which a more courageous and open stance by communists is not desirable. There is no question in the field of the party's internal restructuring in the discussion of which the experience, stance, and initiative of communist communities can be ignored. We recommend that the Central Committee encourage and embolden our basic organizations and party organizations to revitalize political work in this spirit.

Szuross Gives News Conference

LD2709213588 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] The MSZMP debate was still in full swing when a news conference began. Laszlo Major, party spokesman, and Matyas Szuros, Central Committee secretary and presenter of the first point on the agenda, awaited journalists' questions:

[Szuros] This has been a very rich year for Hungarian diplomacy. Stepping up the earlier opening, we have taken big steps to develop ties, and we have opened up to the world in general. In concrete terms, the visit of Premier and General Secretary Karoly Grosz to the United States and Canada belongs in this category. It is also very important to us that we have established closer ties with our traditional partners—Austria, the FRG, and Italy—and we have strengthened our position vis-a-vis a whole range of Western countries with developed economies. We did this in the spirit of our new political thinking, in harmony with the international endeavors of the USSR and our allies. This is a very significant aspect.

Otherwise, I have since been briefed about the visit to the U.S. by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, and a very interesting and novel thesis caught my eye. He said, "We have averted the threat of war." This is a very far-reaching pronouncement. There is no doubt that very favorable trends have unfolded in the international arena, thanks precisely to the Soviet-U.S. rapprochement, and our country's foreign political activities fit into these. It is thanks to this detente that we can continue to pursue the policy of opening. So beside these relations, it is very significant that our leaders discussed from many angles in Warsaw, at the session of the Political Consultative Body of the Warsaw Pact, the

question of reducing conventional arms and forces. This is an extremely important question for Hungary, although not just for Hungary. However, I would like to speak mainly about ourselves here.

Hungary's geostrategic situation, its international environment in this direct vicinity, is such that it makes it possible to assert our endeavor that Hungary should be among the first of those countries on whose territory a reduction occurs. This includes domestic armed forces, as well as the Soviet troops stationed in our country.

What elicited a great deal of attention in recent times was the development of relations, or a step forward in our system of relations, with Israel and the Republic of Korea. What is involved here is that the development of relations with Israel is justified for several reasons. It is justified in the context of the general international situation, and also in the interest of reaching a settlement on the Middle East situation. Besides this, we have direct economic interests in these ties. It is common knowledge that this is not a simple question, but we are progressing consistently, step by step, toward a complete settlement of relations. So this is very important, and by receiving Prime Minister Shamir on a private visit we took a big step forward in this direction.

By doing this, we also wanted to demonstrate, by the way, that we do not wish to interfere in Israel's internal affairs, for we recently received Foreign Minister Peres, who is from the Labor Party, while Shamir heads the Likud bloc. It is perhaps well known that Israel is preparing for parliamentary elections.

With regard to the South Korean Republic, this fits in with our policy to try to extend our system of ties to the Far East, to the Pacific region as well. Here we are also led by the consideration, as with other relations with countries having developed economies, that by developing our international ties and through diplomacy we should aid in resolving our domestic economic and social policy tasks.

Beyond this, realities are our point of departure. It is common knowledge that today South Korea, officially known as the Republic of Korea, is one of the most economically developed countries. So it is a priority here to develop economic cooperation. We count here on the Republic of Korea's participation through its working capital in developing the Hungarian economy. In addition to this, our possibilities will be enriched through technical-technological cooperation as well.

It was in this sense that we established the commercial mission empowered with consular rights. Taking into account other international considerations and the endeavors of the DPRK aimed at the country's peaceful reunification, we shall continue to progress along this road.

[Balint] Attila Balint, Hungarian radio. Did Hungarian-Romanian relations come up at the Central Committee session, and if so, in what way?

[Szuros] I gave a separate verbal briefing about this because the entire protocol of the Arad meeting is at the disposal of Central Committee members at the Central Committee office. Thus, we did not wish to repeat it. We instead gave an internal assessment about Arad and what has happened since. As for Arad, we stated unequivocally that the meeting was correct. It is an important endeavor of our foreign policy to resolve disputed questions through negotiations. It was correct to accept the Romanian initiative proposing a summit in Arad. This is the essence of the matter. In addition to this, we also of course said that further negotiations, as well as further efforts, were needed here. There has been no meaningful or substantive change in the Romanian stance. One must certainly mention that by its invitation, by the initiative, Romania also expressed in essence its readiness for talks. This opportunity had to be taken.

Since then we have formulated a rather comprehensive work schedule for cooperation which has been adopted by the Council of Ministers. You all know this. This is quite a comprehensive program consisting of 20-25 points. It embraces everything that was discussed in Arad.

Beside this, I also said that my visit to Bucharest took place as a continuation of this. Tough but meaningful talks were held both with my counterpart and with General Secretary Ceausescu. We must continue along this road. The two stands must be brought closer together by implementing the concrete tasks, and this is how we should contribute to the fostering of friendship and cooperation between the two neighboring peoples.

As our spokesman has said, seven people asked to address the debate. This also shows that the effervescence and activity which now characterize our domestic politics have also been manifested regarding the foreign policy point on the agenda. Activity, effervescence, lack of confidence, and confidence are all present simultaneously in this. So there were probing questions here which were also on the agenda in the past, namely this so-called nationality question, the matter concerning a declaration on nationalities, the matter of the chief consulate and houses of culture, the question of family reunification and refugees, and the so-called settlement development plan.

Further on News Conference
LD2709220488 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1900 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Excerpt] A debate has begun over the secretary's [Janos Lukacs] report. The Central Committee session is expected to last until late tonight. Julia Tardos now reports from there with a summary:

[Tardos] The Central Committee session is still in progress at this moment, because the members have decided they will presumably complete their work today. Thus, the debate is still in progress at the moment.

As you know, the first point on the agenda dealt with foreign affairs. Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros presented the Central Committee with a veritable package, because there have been a great many foreign policy decisions in Hungary: the settlement of relations with various countries and the discussion of disputed questions. How conscious is this, and how much is coincidence? Are we in the middle of some foreign policy offensive?

[Szuros] Naturally, this is quite conscious. We have even stepped up our previous openness, in the spirit of the new Soviet foreign policy philosophy and that of our allies. We have reaffirmed our past relations. With Austria, the FRG, and Italy, for instance, we have established even closer ties, and in the meantime and beyond this we really have carried out an intensive opening toward the Western countries with developed economies. Karoly Grosz's visit to the United States and Canada took place in this spirit. We have further strengthened our position in Japan as well as in a whole range of other countries.

The deputy prime minister signed an agreement with the Common Market yesterday, etc. So this really has been an exciting period, one in harmony, as I have said, with the endeavors that are characteristic of the member states of the Warsaw Pact as a whole, and primarily of Soviet foreign policy.

The July session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact, which took place in Warsaw, was very important. Here we dealt with the question of disarmament in conventional forces and arms.

It is now common knowledge in Hungary how much we would like Hungary to be among those countries which will be first to see concrete disarmament on their territories. Apart from this, the visit to the GDR by General Secretary and Premier Karoly Grosz was also discussed. It is common knowledge—this is well-known to Hungarian public opinion.—that the GDR is one of our most important partners. The GDR is particularly close to my heart because I worked in Berlin for 6 years. I lived in Moscow for 10 years and worked in Berlin for 6 years. So these are the two relations that I perhaps know best.

So these questions were discussed, and apart from these, what is very significant is that we have fitted into this opening process, into this process of developing our relations, we have fit in the expansion of ties with Israel and the establishment of a commercial mission empowered with consular rights in the ROK.

[Tardos] You have said that we did not enjoy a great deal of international popularity because of this. I am thinking of the North Korean protest. What necessities drive us at times like this? I think you have said that the economy is one aspect.

[Szuros] Yes, but this is still not decisive. In a sense it fits in with our foreign policy endeavors as a whole: We should gain a foothold in the Far East and the Pacific region in the interest of peace and security, and—and we are making no secret of this—in relation to South Korea we are led by serious economic goals.

South Korea, the ROK, is currently one of the most economically developed countries. In addition, it must be said that realities are our point of departure. It is a fundamental principle of Hungarian foreign policy that it should have realities as its point of departure. I said in the report, and I may have spoken about this on other occasions as well, that 67 countries have relations with both Koreas. So this is a factor worth considering in any case.

[Tardos] Are there any socialist countries among these, or are we the first?

[Szuros] There are no socialist countries among them, and the mission we have established does not yet mean the establishment of diplomatic ties, but we are proceeding in this direction. It must be said in connection with Israel as well that we are moving in the direction of making relations complete. From this point of view it was important that Foreign Minister Peres and recently Prime Minister Shamir were here on private visits. These are important stages in this process. [passage omitted]

Central Committee Session Concludes

LD2709214888 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] [Presenter] We begin our detailed report with our account of the Central Committee session. The report was given by Gabor Bankuti, Andras Domany, and Attila Balint:

[Unidentified reporter] The MSZMP Central Committee session ended at 2027. Leaving out the lunch break and the two short intervals, the body's members conferred for 9 and ½ hours.

USSR Government Congratulates Rakowski
LD2809225188 Warsaw PAP in English
2207 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, Sept. 27—In a cable addressed today to the new Polish prime minister the Soviet Government wished him "Success in your responsible work in the interest of reinforcing the socialist Poland, further increasing of its prestige on the international arena."

"We express a strong conviction that the relations of brotherly friendship and all-round Soviet-Polish cooperation will continue to expand and intensify to the benefit of our countries and nations, the cause of socialism and peace," the message said in part.

FRG Group Chairman Cited on Border Issue
LD2509015388 Warsaw PAP in English
2156 GMT 23 Sep 88

["Czaja Attacks Post-War Order Once Again"—PAP headline]

[Text] Bonn, Sept. 23—The chairman of the revisionist Federal German organization—the so-called Union of Expellees, Herbert Czaja, once again questioned the post-war territorial order in Europe.

Adopting an attitude in a speech given during an event connected with "the day of the fatherland" in Bonn to the recent statement made by the present SPD chairman, Hans-Jochen Vogel, in which Vogel suggested to the FRG chancellor that the final political act acknowledging Poland's western border should be made, the very confident Czaja said that such a decision would require the amending of the FRG's Constitution which would not gain the support of the necessary majority of FRG society.

Jaruzelski Receives British Publisher
LD2409233488 Warsaw PAP in English
1813 GMT 24 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 24—President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski today received a prominent British publisher Robert Maxwell with whom he had a long conversation.

Further Reportage on 27 Sep Sejm Session

Floor Groups Parley Before Session
LD2709150988 Warsaw PAP in English
1430 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 27—The three Sejm floor groups met before the Sejm meeting here today.

The PUWP Sejm floor group debated with the participation of Wojciech Jaruzelski. The PUWP CC first secretary referred to the decision of the 9th PUWP CC Plenum and characterized the candidate for prime minister, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski.

Members of the PUWP floor group expressed thanks to Zbigniew Messner for his dedication and contribution of work in performing the function of the prime minister in 1985-1988.

The PUWP deputies also studied controversies aroused by the present draft law on economic activity with the participation of foreign subjects. The meeting heard a report on the course and results of the recent meeting of the speakers of parliaments of the Warsaw Treaty states.

The meeting of the PUWP group was chaired by Tadeusz Porebski.

Topics of the present and next Sejm meeting were reviewed at a meeting of the United Peasant party (ZSL) Sejm floor group. A proposal to entrust Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski with the post of the prime minister was recommended to the ZSL deputies. Reasons for proposing this candidate were given by chairman of the ZSL CC Roman Malinowski.

The debates were chaired by head of the ZSL floor group Tadeusz Szelachowski.

The election of the new prime minister was the main topic of the meeting of the Democratic Party (SD) deputy floor group. Its chairman Marek Wieczorek said that an extraordinary session of the Presidium of the SD CC met twice to discuss this question. Chairman of the SD CC Tadeusz Witold Mlynchak presented Rakowski's profile.

Sejm Resumes Debate
LD2709140388 Warsaw PAP in English
1314 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 27—During the half-hour break in the Sejm debate Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski thanked Zbigniew Messner and all the members of the Council of Ministers for cooperation with the Sejm and, next, handed to Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski the nomination act, congratulating him on the appointment and wishing him success.

The debate was resumed.

Malinowski Meets Rakowski
LD2709152288 Warsaw PAP in English
1440 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 27—During the break in the parliamentary meeting on Tuesday, Sejm speaker Roman Malinowski, in the presence of Wojciech Jaruzelski, met with members of the outgoing cabinet and with the newly elected premier. The meeting was attended by deputy sejm speakers and members of the Council of Seniors.

On behalf of the Sejm Presidium and his own behalf, the Sejm speaker thanked Zbigniew Messner and all the members of the Council of Ministers for their cooperation with the parliament during the difficult times for Poland.

The Sejm speaker handed to Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski the latter's nomination act for chairman of the Council of Ministers and congratulated him on the occasion.

Sejm Completes Work

*LD2709151988 Warsaw PAP in English
1438 GMT 27 Sep 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 27—The Sejm (Polish parliament) today passed the law on bonds with one abstention.

Then, the Sejm supplemented the composition of the Socioeconomic Council by appointing President of the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade Tadeusz Zylkowski its new member.

Also today, the Sejm adopted a resolution providing for its next meeting to be held on October 13 and 14.

The Sejm wound up its debates at 14:30 hrs.

Warsaw Describes Proceedings

*LD2709191488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1500 GMT 27 Sep 88*

[Text] At its sitting today the Sejm elected Mieczyslaw Rakowski to the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers with 338 votes in favor. Five deputies opposed his candidacy and 35 abstained. After his nomination Mieczyslaw Rakowski asked the deputies to grant him 2 weeks to form the Council of Ministers, which he will propose to the Sejm, and to work out an action program. He said that he hopes to be able to propose a coalitional government based on an wider political representation than previously.

In the second part of the Sejm sitting the first reading of a deputies' bill on medical self-management took place. After discussing the issue the bill was sent to Sejm commissions and the Socioeconomic Council at the Sejm. Next, having heard a report by the Commission for Economic Plan, Budget, and Finance and the Commission for Legislative Work, the House passed an act on bonds. The Sejm also complemented the membership of the Socioeconomic Council. Its new member is Tadeusz zylkowski, chairman of the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade.

At the end of its proceedings the Sejm resolved that the next sitting will take place on 13-14 October.

Rakowski on First Task of His Cabinet

*LD2709151488 Warsaw PAP in English
1435 GMT 27 Sep 88*

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Sept.—“Winning support of my fellow countrymen for the government's economic and social policies” is the answer given by the newly elected Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski to the question on “the first task facing his cabinet”, put to him by PAP's parliamentary correspondent today.

“Without such support even the most impressive conceptions, plans and ideas are doomed to failure.” Rakowski added. “If at the end of my way along the bumpy road of political life I am able to state that I have had not only setbacks on my record, setbacks which are inevitable, but also achievements worthy of mention from the point of view of interests of individuals, the whole society and the socialist state, that will be the result of the emergence of the support for which I now appeal,” Rakowski said.

The correspondent congratulated Rakowski upon his election on behalf of the journalists of the Polish press agency PAP.

PAP Profiles New Premier Rakowski's Career

*LD2709165388 Warsaw PAP in English
1550 GMT 27 Sep 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 27—Mieczyslaw Franciszek Rakowski was born in the village of Kowalewko, Bydgoszcz voivodship, to a peasant family in 1926.

After the liberation of Poland he joined the Polish People's Army and served as a political officer till 1949. PUWP member since 1948, in 1964 appointed alternate member of the PUWP CC, since 1975 he has been a member of the PUWP CC. On December 15, 1987, Rakowski was appointed Political Bureau member by the 6th PUWP CC plenary meeting, and the 7th PUWP CC plenary meeting held on June 14, 1988, appointed him Central Committee secretary. He has been Sejm (Polish parliament) deputy since 1972.

Having finished journalistic studies he started to work as an instructor in the PUWP CC Press and Publications Department. In the years 1952-1955 he studied at the Institute of Social Sciences and a year later obtained a Phd degree. In the years 1955-1957 he worked in the PUWP CC Propaganda Department. From 1958 till 1981 editor-in-chief of the POLITYKA weekly. In 1981 appointed vice-premier, in 1985 he was appointed deputy Sejm speaker and held the post till June 17, 1988. He was also chairman of the Socio-Economic Council at the Sejm of the 9th term of office.

In the years 1958-1962 he was chairman of the main board of the Association of Polish Journalists. He is also chairman of the Society for Supporting Economic Initiatives and president of the Polish Sailing Union.

For his work as a socio-political columnist, Rakowski was given the State Award, 2nd class, and the Polonia Restituta Order, Commander's Cross with Star.

Author of many books on socio-political subjects and on international relations. He is married with two children.

Urban on New Government Plans for Coalition
LD2709165988 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1615 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Government spokesman Jerzy Urban's press conference began at 1600. He spoke, among other things, about the plans envisaging that Mieczyslaw Rakowski's government would be a coalition government.

[Begin Urban recording] The development of a coalition is, nevertheless, a process. In keeping with the process whereby accords are reached, mutual trust is established. In keeping with the process whereby compromises are reached, compromises which, naturally, cannot undermine the state's supreme interests, the coalition-like nature of the executive authorities, including the government, will, we hope assume a broader scope. [end recording]

Premier To Announce Proposed Cabinet 13 Oct
LD2709205188 Warsaw PAP in English
1955 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 27—The Polish Sejm (parliament) resolved to hold its next meeting on this coming October 13-14.

The agenda of the sitting, to start Oct. 13 at 14:00, will include a statement by the chairman of the Council of Ministers on the proposed composition of the cabinet and program of government's work.

Messner Gives Advice to New Premier
LD2709214788 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Cameras and photographers thronged around Mieczyslaw Rakowski and Zbigniew Messner in the Sejm foyer. It seems that we have all been waiting for this moment.

[Unidentified correspondent] Professor, you have had 3 years experience as head of the government. What do you wish the new premier and the new cabinet? What experience would you wish to pass on?

[Messner] As far as wishes are concerned, when a new prime minister is called to take office, he has to be wished—and I wish him, from the bottom of my heart—first, that he stays in office longer; second, that he attains all the goals he sets for himself; and, finally, that he is successful in all this. As for the second part of your question, it was about my intentions, wasn't it?

[Correspondent] Yes, it was: What experience would you wish to pass on?

[Messner] This experience is as follows: Of course, I mean that each person who takes up a certain role within the state must be aware of the responsibilities involved,

the big responsibilities, weighing heavy upon him and arising from the tasks involved in this selfsame new role and the role of prime minister which is among the highest in the state.

This experience is as follows: The government must act with consistency. It must not yield to compromises, since, as it turns out, compromises are always harmful and, after all, I said this on the 19th [not further specified]. Finally, in the third place, all the circumstances must be taken into account, so that difficulties arising from these circumstances may be overcome and success attained.

[Correspondent] Professor, you have prompted me to ask you this next question: What are your intentions for the future?

[Messner] Well, as for my intentions, I wish to have a rest, above all. Then we shall see.

[Correspondent] Thank you for this brief conversation.

Catholic Group Voices Hopes for New Government
LD2709083488 Warsaw PAP in English
0039 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 26—The Presidium of the National Board of the Polish Catholic-Social Union PZKS supported the idea of extending the platform for a coalition-like style of exercising power in Poland.

"We understand it as an expression of the willingness to renew the entire system of running the state affairs, including also the growing role of Catholic groups in the nation's political life," reads a statement.

"We voice our hope that these declarations will be reflected in the composition and structure of the Council of Ministers to be proposed to the nation by the new prime minister and approved by the Sejm. This will create a favourable atmosphere for the round table talks which will meet the expectations only if they make a beginning of deep social and political changes," says the statement.

"We appreciate the stance represented today by various orientations within the trade union movement which say that the shape and scope of the trade union pluralism should be determined by worker crews themselves," the statement says.

PZPR's Baka on Readiness for Dialogue
AU2609165488 Vienna PROFIL in German
No. 39 26 Sep 88 p 58

[Interview with PZPR Politburo Member Professor Wladyslaw Baka, national economist and president of the Polish National Bank, a "leading candidate to become the next prime minister," by Vivianne Schnitzer in Warsaw, "before Premier Messner's resignation": "Ready for Dialogue"]

[Text] Schnitzer: Professor Baka, they say Poland is in "the second stage" of its economic reform. Why, then, is the situation worse than in 1981?

Baka: The first mistake—we have publicly admitted that—was the bad wage and price policy. The mechanism of price control was hardly efficient. Moreover, market supply has deteriorated and great differences in salaries and incomes have developed. The lack of balance in the market is related to speculation, because there are groups which gain more when prices increase. But even if this policy had been adequate, the reform would have entailed problems—for example, the bankruptcy of many firms, which did not meet the expectations of the reform.

Schnitzer: A number of party members have publicly criticized some officials for opposing reform. What will happen with them?

Baka: It is difficult to identify all these people, because nobody opposes reform openly and directly. There are those who feign that they are in favor of reform, but they cannot be recognized either. I propose a very clear line to determine unequivocal targets and to verify with these targets whether the necessary work has been done or not.

Schnitzer: Do these checks already exist?

Baka: No, not yet.

Schnitzer: Is this one of the reasons why the party wants to put you in the place of present Premier Zbigniew Messner?

Baka: That remains to be seen.

Schnitzer: General Jaruzelski speaks of "national reconciliation"—whom does this include?

Baka: National reconciliation is something which cannot be achieved overnight, but which has to be understood as a process which needs time to mature. The most important thing about it is that the process is actually developing in this direction. If we were to sign a reconciliation pact tomorrow, it would have no social basis. What is important now is dialogue.

Schnitzer: With whom are you ready to talk?

Baka: With everyone who wants the dialogue and respects the institutional order. Even with those who are alien to socialism in their ideological convictions.

Schnitzer: Even with Solidarity?

Baka: With all those who respect the institutional order.

Schnitzer: Do you think that it is possible to achieve reconciliation without Solidarity?

Baka: With its present organizational structure it is impossible.

Schnitzer: The government speaks of a "coalition for reform" and the opposition speaks of an "anti-crisis pact." What is the difference?

Baka: The difference is only a semantic one. What counts is that we take joint action. The form is the least of my worries.

Schnitzer: With regard to expenditure, the Polish budget is heavily inclined toward heavy industry and arms. Are you planning to invest more in production for the domestic market?

Baka: Our defense expenditure is not exaggerated by international standards. However, since detente is making progress, we have decided to put some of the arms industry potential to civilian use. Moreover, we have stopped several construction projects in order to save material, such as cement, for housing construction. Our basic problem is the lack of raw material, which in turn is connected with the payment of interest on our foreign debts. For these payments alone we have to provide \$2 billion per year, or 30 percent of our export revenues.

Schnitzer: What would happen in Poland if Gorbachev and his perestroika disappeared from the Soviet Union's political stage tomorrow?

Baka: I am rather optimistic about this. Moreover, the conservative forces in Poland, the so-called "konserwy," have lost importance. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that Gorbachev's perestroika is playing an important role in our process.

Glowczyk on Accord, Roundtable Talks

*AU2609155888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
23 Sep 88 p 2*

[PAP report: "We Must Not Lose Any Opportunity for Dialogue"]

[Text] On 22 September, Jan Glowczyk, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, visited the Pioma machine-building plant in Piotrkow Trybunalski to meet with a large group of production workers. J. Glowczyk is a member of the plant's party organization.

The country's situation, especially the economy and living conditions of individual groups of the population, dominated the discussion at the meeting.

Replying to questions, J. Glowczyk said that in talking about the country's problems one must not be motivated solely by emotions. He stressed the efforts of socialist Poland in transforming a country of overpopulated and jobless rural areas, devastated by war, into the present country, in which everyone, provided one is willing, is able to enjoy a decent living and to work. He drew attention to the past 7 years, which many people regard as lost years—a fallacy that can be denied by developments such as the Belchatow combine, which is about to

achieve full production capacity—and said that many development opportunities continue to be blocked by the fact that we are now unable to afford the necessary investments. We must not regard the present discontent with the flow of goods, J. Glowczyk continued, apart from recent strikes, which are responsible for the fact that much money with little purchasing power flooded the market and that this money was obtained in the form of wage increases by those who cannot be considered as the poorest people. J. Glowczyk stressed that many plants acquire the money for wage increases from increased prices on their products, a phenomenon that cannot favor the economic reform.

Speaking of the sociopolitical situation and various processes and changes, J. Glowczyk said that the party is grudging no efforts to promote national accord and democratization and is trying to do everything not to lose any opportunity for dialogue. This line was clearly confirmed by the 10th Party Congress. Our goal, J. Glowczyk continued, is to create a lasting political structure, which is based on certain principles and which would be open to various forces of society that are in favor of the PPR Constitution and our alliances. This poses the task of creating possibilities for various groups to sit in the Sejm and the people's councils. This also poses the task of creating a new election law and of preparing a new form of the Sejm, perhaps of its second chamber, and of new elections.

The roundtable is not an aim in itself, J. Glowczyk said. The roundtable is just an element of that political structure and a stage toward the establishment of the Council of National Accord, which is a subject of the eighth plenum resolution. We wish to create that council, and this wish represents a serious and far-reaching offer and not a temporary tactical move. But the thing is that we do not want to realize this offer at just any price.

However, attempts are being made to reduce the roundtable discussions to just a single issue—to the registration of Solidarity—and actions are being taken to create accomplished facts and to organize pressure. We have to say quite clearly that the accomplished facts, and ultimatum-like statements are threats to the process of national accord.

Member of Sejm Economic Reform Panel Interviewed
PM2709100588 Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA
in Polish 6 Sep 88 p 3

[Interview with Sejm deputy Stanislaw Stasiak, member of the Sejm Extraordinary Commission for Monitoring the Implementation of the Economic Reform, by Marek Trzebiatowski; date, place not given]

[Text] [Trzebiatowski] We have the Extraordinary Commission for Monitoring the Implementation of the Economic Reform on the one hand, and an extraordinary situation in the country on the other. Was this the reason for the sharp exchange that took place at a Sejm session

recently? This is the conclusion one can draw from press reports on Sejm speeches by deputies Stanislaw Stasiak and Jerzy Szmajdzinski. You expressed your alarm about the course of the debate and the fact that the various views being put forward did not make for complacency nor did they provide an answer to the question of who is right: statistics and the improving economic indices, or the alarmed public?

[Stasiak] I do not want anyone to interpret my address as a piece of sensational news. Is it really so odd for a deputy's view to differ from government representatives? I do not think so, and it would be a good thing if it happened more often in Sejm practice. My reservations concerned the speed with which the economic reform is being implemented. Assessments made by the PZZR Central Committee Eighth Plenum and the OPZZ are consistent with the views held by the public: They all speak of a decline in the rate at which the reform is being implemented. On the other hand, at a meeting of our commission we were shown that everything is going according to the implementation schedule for the second stage of the reform. Thus in formal terms everything is fine—except that we are interested in results and not statistical figures.

[Trzebiatowski] It is only 3 months since the government was given special powers...

[Stasiak] That is true, and it would be difficult to quarrel with the thesis that 3 months is too short a time for a radical restructuring. However, when we were discussing the reform's implementation program and expressing our fears that the prices and incomes operation would prove ineffective, the government side was full of optimism similar to that demonstrated during a session of the extraordinary commission. The implementation of the reform was taken over by bureaucrats, and that is why formally a lot has been achieved, whereas in actual practice hardly anything has changed. It is no news that a part of the official apparatus acts as a brake on the reform and has been doing everything in its power—and successfully, too—to create a mere semblance of the reform.

[Trzebiatowski] So what should be changed?

[Stasiak] We have often been asked whether the reform program is any good in the first place and whether we should go ahead with the reforms at all. As for this, most deputies serving on the commission have answered both parts of the question in the affirmative and maintain that there must be no turning away from the reform, because we should remember that our biggest mistakes in the past were caused by starting new ventures, then coming up with entirely new concepts over and over again, and finally abandoning the job we had begun. Whereas the concept of the reform is in itself correct. It is only the methods of its implementation that provoke our objections. In practice, they have brought about an inflation which paralyzes all economic activity and, by the same token, an absence of any incentive to work, poor product

quality, and the principle that the money earned today must be spent immediately because tomorrow it will lose its value. Moreover, the thesis that the whole of society should bear the costs of the reform equally does not find justification in practice. In our circumstances, such egalitarianism has only resulted in a situation in which the poor become even poorer and the rich get richer more quickly than anyone else. Therefore it is imperative that we achieve a state of economic equilibrium, both in the market and in the investment sector. This, in turn, cannot be achieved without profound institutional changes—not only economic but also political, for past experience has shown that the one is not possible without the other because it does not bring the desired results.

[Trzebiatowski] The Extraordinary Commission has the job of formulating extraordinary proposals.

[Stasiak] Both our latest meeting and the next one, scheduled for 9 September, can indeed be described as exceptional. We have been entrusted with a tremendous responsibility because the opinion voiced by the commission will be significant for the Polish economy's future. Since that opinion will be formulated on the basis of assessments and decisions issued by the eighth plenum as well as materials prepared by experts, recommendations suggested by the trade unions, and suggestions put forward by the allied parties, it will serve as a formal proposal presented at the next plenary meeting of the Sejm. The commission's drafting group will begin work on the preparation of the document 7 September. Among other things, it will use the results of the work of the following four subcommissions: market equilibrium affairs, legislation, economic situation of enterprises, and structural changes in industry. On 9 September, after having heard the statement on the government's position, the deputies will formulate their final opinion in their own circle. This time we want to avoid the charge that we were not in possession of sufficient information on and knowledge of matters of such grave significance for the country. I will not deny that in the past relevant materials often reached the Sejm literally at the last moment and it was not possible to confront their content with the views held by the electorate.

[Trzebiatowski] Your opinion might not find favor with the general public as well as government representatives.

[Stasiak] Premier Messner has already foreseen this when he spoke about the factors which determine the implementation of the reform. It is true that matter always offers resistance and can even actively resist. Putting reforms into practice requires making many unpopular decisions and this must be very clearly understood. However, when the first results are seen in the market, people will come to understand that necessity.

Weekly Interviews Orzechowski on Reform
LD2509102288 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Text] The TYGODNIK ZAMOJSKI, in an interview with Marian Orzechowski, asks: Society has more than once seen laudable forecasts fail to receive consistent

implementation. Today, probably no one believes in a move away from reformist transformations, but what is the guarantee of success for the party and society? Marian Orzechowski says: For the system of management and exercising power to be fully efficient and effective, one must look for the sources in pondering what within it continues to remain a residue of the bureaucratic-centralist Stalinist shape of socialism.

Piotrkow Party Plenum Discussion Summarized
AU2609125388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
20 Sep 88 p 2

[PAP report by Marek Miziak: "Piotrkow Trybunalski—One Has To Like Criticism"]

[Text] The 19 September plenum of the Piotrkow Trybunalski Voivodship PZPR Committee discussed the party's condition and role during the present changes, against the background of the voivodship's social situation and economic results and in light of the economic reform's results. It was widely held that one of the most important tasks right now is to give a precise definition of this role and establish new work methods. Various solutions and ways of reaching them were also suggested.

A need for a completely new definition of the party's role in our country has emerged, said Andrzej Pol, principal of the school of mining at Piotrkow. The present pattern is out of date. Our Polish socialism has to be redrafted from the very beginning.

Wieslaw Chrzanowski, director of the Regional Party Work Center in Belchatow, said that the party should not build up a feeling of importance by interfering in administrative and economic decisions, because when these decisions turn out to be wrong, it is the party that loses its prestige.

A ray of hope is provided not by the carousel of posts in the government, but by the roundtable, whose decisions must forestall and encourage economic transformations.

Let us hold more open party meetings, said Tadeusz Wilk, first secretary of the PZPR committee at the Belchatow coal mine. One or two nonparty participants is still no proof of openness. We must find ways of attracting people from various milieus to these meetings. There will be criticism and difficult matters to discuss. We do not like these things, yet we have to like them in order to lead the way in the transformations.

This current of discussion was reflected in the resolution adopted by the meeting, which was marked by a feeling of concern for the party's strength and prestige and that of its individual members, and for the welfare of the country and society.

VOA Claims of Forced Military Service Rejected
AU2709151288 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI
in Polish 22 Sep 88 p 2

[Commentary signed '(af)': "The Ideas of Mrs Malak"]

[Excerpts] Whatever else "Voice of America" might be, one would think that an official government radio station would adhere to the rules of fair play. However, we learned a long time ago that this is not the case, and successive programs by this station strengthen our conviction. And, despite solemn promises by "Voice of America" officials that they would not exceed the limits of propaganda decency, their declarations are all in vain.

"Voice of America" and similar radio stations are attacking our system of defense, including the Polish People's Army, with particular passion. Because each attack fails to provide propaganda results, the next one is even more full of downright lies, willingly uttered by people like a certain Barbara Malak, a representative of "Solidarity's" Lower Silesia chapter and an active collaborator of "Voice of America." Her statement that was broadcast by this station on 12 September is a classic case of pathological information and an anatomy of lies.

The subject of the program was an alleged persecution of strikers in Poland, and the "Voice of America" informant's attitude to Polish affairs is best illustrated by the following extract:

"Several hundred striking workers were ordered to report to penal military units. Being drafted serves as a punishment for striking; it is the same as being deprived of one's freedom under administrative proceedings for political offenses. This is yet another example of the Communist Party's misuse of the Army for its own purposes. This party has frequently used the Army as a weapon with which to crush our people's aspirations for freedom. Right now the Army is a camp for political prisoners, those persecuted because they fought for trade union pluralism. The officers and soldiers of this army are being turned into prison service officials and prison camp guards. The fact that no protest has been heard from the ranks against this glaring violation of rules illustrates the profound demoralization of officer cadres and the disappearance of elementary ethics. No wonder more and more people are refusing to serve in the Army, which is fit to be a prison," concludes Barbara Malek on "Voice of America." [passage omitted]

So Washington tells us that even 50-year-old miners and dockers are snatched from their jobs and drafted into the Army, not in order to fulfill their duty to defend Poland, but as revenge for striking. It is difficult to imagine bigger nonsense, and the best thing would be to ignore it. However, its highly insulting nature to our soldiers' honor prevents us from doing so. [passage omitted]

We hasten to remind "Voice of America" that we are aware of proven cases of genocide in the name of "soldierly duty," "orders," or "honor." However, this was perpetrated by an army in which no doubt many

"Voice of America" employees served and still serve. Examples are the pacification of the Vietnamese forces, the attack on Grenada, the sortie against Libya, the shooting down of the Iranian airliner, and so on. These are undeniable facts, and it is a pity "Voice of America" has paid no attention to these instead.

Stalinists Implicated in Fifties Officers' Trial

AU2309145088 [Editorial Report] Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish on 17 September on page 14 carries the 3,800-word text of a Tadeusz Piore article, which is entitled "Before the Supreme Military Court in 1951-53—Chip-Off Trials" and which describes in detail the events leading to the so-called chip-off trials of various prewar officers. These officers continued to serve in the People's Army after the war and were accused of abetting and aiding the "conspiracy" allegedly organized by General Tatar and other generals and ranking officers who were sentenced to life or shorter terms of imprisonment in August 1951. T. Piore says that he based his article on the published memoirs of General Kuropieska and Colonels Bron, Skalski [who served in the RAF during the war], and Gerhard, on verbal depositions of surviving officers, on the 1956 report compiled by Judge Mieczyslaw Szerer after October 1956, and on his own experience in prison.

T. Piore says that some journalists dubbed those trials chip-off trials, because they resulted from the trials of General Tatar and other "chief conspirators," but that the arrested officers dubbed them "WC" trials, because they were held in the "strictly isolated rooms" in the headquarters of the investigating body [Informacja]. He also describes how officers were arrested and how they were interrogated and says that some of them went mad or committed suicide, that those who organized the trials were Russians who learned to speak Polish, and that of the officers sentenced to death 19 were executed.

In his article's conclusion Piore describes the slow and gradual process of rehabilitation of all the sentenced officers, following Stalin's death in 1953. Piore writes: "The overriding question is why there was persecution of people who not only did not deserve the sentences they received, but who could not even be suspected of engaging in activities leading to an antistate conspiracy. Was repression in Poland only a result of the diktat by the Stalinist security services and did the Polish offshoots of these services just follow in the footsteps of their masters?"

"If we answer the second question in the affirmative, our yes is also valid for the first question. In order to cope with the tasks sponsored by the 'top,' it was necessary to procure a precedent and to find victims that would confirm this precedent. The rest was just a technical matter, which belonged to those who operated the mechanism of destruction out of conviction, out of fear, or for personal career reasons. Operating in the given system of power without any control, that mechanism had to supply proofs from time to time in order to sustain its operation and to justify its existence. If a biological break [probably Stalin's death] had not occurred, who knows how many people and what people that mechanism would have claimed as its victims."

Hungary's Army Day Marked With Exhibits, Films
AU2809124588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1214 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/09/1988—On the Hungarian People's Army day Colonel-General Vasile Milea, national defense minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, sent a telegram of congratulations to Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, defense minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, on the day of the Hungarian People's Army Day.

The air and military attache of the Hungarian People's Republic in Bucharest, Lieutenant-Colonel Sandor Aradi, met with military of two garrisons of our army and spoke about the significance of the celebrated event. The participants saw a pictorial exhibition featuring aspects of the life and activity of the military of the Hungarian People's Army and documentary films supplied by the Embassy of Hungary in Bucharest.

U.K. Defense College Delegation Visits
AU2709190888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1850 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 27/9/1988—A group of teaching staff and students of the Royal College of Defence Studies of Great Britain paid a visit to Romania over 22-27 September, 1988. The group were received by executives of the National Defence Ministry, at the Foreign Affairs Ministry, and had talks at the Academy of Social and Political Studies and at the Institute of World Economy. They also saw round military learning units and institutions, economic enterprises, places of social, cultural and tourist interest in Bucharest and Brasov.

Ceausescu Interview to XINHUA Noted
AU2809111488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1021 GMT 28 Sep 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Receives NEW CHINA News Agency's Chief Correspondent"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/9/1988—On 28 September Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Zhang Hanwen, chief correspondent of the Bucharest office of NEW CHINA news agency.

On that occasion, Nicolae Ceausescu gave an interview for the NEW CHINA news agency.

PRC Delegation Visits, Holds Talks
AU2709184288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1851 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 27/9/1988—Over 22-27 September, at the invitation of the National Peace Committee, a delegation of the Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament headed by Prof. Lin Hua-xuan, vice-chairman of the association, paid a visit to Romania.

The Chinese guests had interviews and held talks at the National Peace Committee, the Romania-China Friendship Association, the International Law and International Relations Association (ADIRI), the National Women's Council, the Bucharest University, the Dimbovita County SDUF Council, and visited economic units and places of social and cultural interest in Bucharest and Dimbovita County.

During the talks information was exchanged on the respective organizations' activity and projects for the socioeconomic development, for disarmament and peace.

41 Arrested for 'Hostile Activity' in Kosovo

LD2809143588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1343 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—The internal affairs organs have arrested 41 people on grounds of a well-founded suspicion that they committed the criminal act of conspiring in order to carry out hostile activity in Kosovo. The Federal Secretariat for Information issued the following statement today:

"The federal secretary for internal affairs today informed the Federal Secretariat for Information that in a joint action with the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the Serbian SR Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and the Macedonian SR Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the Kosovo Internal affairs organs have arrested 41 people from Kosovo and other parts of Serbia. The arrests were made on grounds of a well-founded suspicion that these people had committed the criminal acts of conspiring to carry out hostile activity (from the positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism) under Article 136; of fomenting national, racial, and religious hatred, and divisions and intolerance under Article 134; and of hostile propaganda under Article 133 of the SFRY Penal Code.

The federal secretary for internal affairs stressed that the main organ involved was the Kosovo Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

Disbanding of Kosovo LC Suggested

LD2809071888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic
Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Pristina, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—A faction in the Kosovo LC is flirting with the separatists and using their platform, giving rise to divisions among the LC membership along nationalistic lines. This announcement was made at a meeting of the Jedinstvo Newspaper and Publishing Work organization's basic LC organization in Pristina. The party leaderships in Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia relied until recently on cadres who supported the counterrevolution. Hence, consideration should be given to the question of disbanding the Kosovo LC and Kosovo's state and public security organs, which for years could not or would not wipe out the evil of counterrevolution.

In a debate lasting several hours, there was a request that those responsible for the suffering of the Serbian and Montenegrin people in Kosovo and of the other non-Albanian population leave their posts as soon as possible, but not in the manner of the Fadilj Hodza group. In this context, mention was made of Kolj Siroka, Azem Vlasi, Ekrem Arifi, Rahman Dedaj, Kurtas Salihu, Surija Pupovci, Veselja Ljatifi, Nebih Gasi, Kacusa Jasari, and Milan Gvozdic, who, it was said have been and remain the biggest obstacles to the settling of political circumstances in Kosovo.

The reexamination of the assessment of the counterrevolution in Kosovo is counterrevolutionary, it was pointed out at the meeting; and it was noted that the meetings of Serbs and Montenegrins are not anti-Albanian but antiseparatist.

Commentary on Presidency Position on Disturbances

AU2309132888 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
22 Sep 88 p 1

[Commentary by BORBA director Milan Rakas:
"Eleventh Hour"]

[Text] It is no exaggeration to say that the stances of the latest SFRY Presidency session issued yesterday mean another appeal to progressive forces in every part of our country, calling on them to stop the plunge into the political abyss from which Yugoslavia will not be able to emerge as a socialist, self-managing and AVNOJ-like [Anti-fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] country.

In the time between the SFRY Presidency session which discussed the political-security situation and the publication of its stances, we experienced a piercing and horrible invocation of foreign intervention.

It can hardly be any comfort to us that this invocation (and it would be good if the authorities established that it was not uttered at all) was pronounced by an individual at a meeting, particularly because none of the organizers publicly dissociated himself from it or reacted to it. What is even worse, this cry came as the last one of the series of many hostile slogans and even open threats to kill, and requests that "We want arms." It is particularly dangerous that our political leaderships often underestimate all these phenomena, calling them individual excesses, and that at best everything ends with mild denunciations that are made in passing.

It is high time that all those people in our country whom we call the organized political forces realized that the SFRY Presidency stances are a call for an urgent "awakening from hibernation."

It is high time that even people with the worst case of political blindness, if they are patriots, opened their eyes, because bolts of lightning charged with the dangers of a civil war have recently been crossing the overcast Yugoslav sky. There is no other way to interpret slogans such as the one threatening criminal, political murder in our red hot intranational atmosphere. Such and similar threats, invocations, name-calling, and slogans must not be assessed as mere excesses, whatever the number of their exponents and advocates.

Because of all this and because of the fate of Tito's Yugoslavia, let us repeat, the implementation of the published SFRY Presidency stances must "in the eleventh hour" mark a turning point in our step which would—if we failed to do this—lead us toward a dead end.

80,000 Gather at Solidarity Meeting in Cacak

*AU2709204388 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Sep 88*

[Text] A meeting of solidarity between Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo was held in Cacak this afternoon. About 80,000 people from this town and neighboring places, as well as several hundred Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo attended the meeting. Here is a Dragan Stavljanin and Vesna Mandic report:

People from this region, brought up in the spirit of the brightest freedom-loving traditions, are disgusted with the sufferings of their brothers in Kosovo, and at the same time fail to understand the hesitation and irresoluteness of the highest leadership in securing basic human rights and freedoms for Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. With these words of Boro Lukic, president of the SAWP Communal Conference, the solidarity meeting opened. The citizens of Cacak and neighboring areas demand a quick solution to the Kosovo drama and constitutional amendments which will enable Serbia to be unified, as could be concluded from the numerous banners at the meeting.

The people attending the meeting were addressed by Milojica Pantelic, a well-known veteran from this region and member of the Council of the Republic, who greatly criticized the behavior of numerous officials such as Azem Vlasi, Kolj Siroka, Josip Vrhovec, Bosko Kronic, and others. Pantelic also touched upon some denunciations of such meetings:

[Begin Pantelic recording] These people's meetings are a thorn in the side of many people, [shouts] but we can tell bureaucracy [shouts of "That is right"] that Serbia will not calm down until essential changes to the SFRY Constitution are made, until the SR of Serbia is completely equal to our other fraternal SR's, and above all, until the counterrevolution in Kosovo has been completely eliminated. [cheering, clapping] [end recording]

The speech of the only member of the Slovene people at this meeting, Danica Znidaric from Maribor who found her second home in Serbia during the war, just as thousands of Slovenes had done, was received with stormy applause.

[Begin Znidaric recording] The people [shouts of "that is right"] of Slovenia do not know much about the situation in Kosovo, about your sufferings, and about the injustice and terror you are experiencing. Had they known the situation better, they would have understood you better. [shout "that is right"] I would like us to

cherish our and Tito's Yugoslavia, the Yugoslavia of the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] I would like the situation in Kosovo, which is difficult, to be solved as soon as possible. [end recording]

At the end of the today's meeting in Cacak a telegram was sent to state and party leaderships of Serbia and Yugoslavia demanding urgent and radical changes, and denouncing all attacks on Tito and the Yugoslav People's Army.

Vojvodina Youth Message to Kosovo Pupils

*LD2609181288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1302 GMT 26 Sep 88*

[Text] Novi Sad, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—We propose to you that the Presidium of the Vojvodina youth federation should come to Kosovo and agree with you on all the ways and means by which the youth of Vojvodina can help you, our contemporaries and comrades, to live in a decent and satisfactory way. This is stated in a message sent by the Presidium of the Vojvodina Federation of Socialist Youth [SSO] to the Kosovo pupils of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality who have been deprived of their rights, in connection with the protest meeting of 7,000 pupils, teachers and parents held in Pristina on 23 September.

The message of the Vojvodina Youth Presidium also says the following: "We propose to all the presidents of municipal conferences of the Vojvodina SSO, the Presidium of the Kosovo SSO Provincial Conference, the Presidium of the Yugoslav SSO Conference and all young people to make up a delegation, together with us, to visit you. Similarly, if you consider that this would be better, we could organize such a meeting in Novi Sad. Novi Sad will welcome you. We would like you, it is stated at the end of the message, to take this proposal as an expression of our most sincere solidarity with you and of our great wish to assist you."

The youth of Vojvodina, it was stated at today's press conference, have been receiving and continue to receive with anger news about all that is happening to the people in Kosovo who have been deprived of their rights. They are angry that young people of Kosovo, Serbs and Montenegrins, cannot go to school freely, that their days pass in fear, and they add: "We are angry that there has been silence about Kosovo for all these years, and yet everything was known!" In addition to this, the young people of Vojvodina are unanimous in their criticism of all those individuals and organs who are guilty for the Kosovo misfortune as well as of those who could have prevented and crushed counterrevolution in Kosovo and who did not do so."

The Presidium of the Yugoslav SSO Federal Conference was also informed about the message which the Presidium of the Vojvodina SSO Provincial Conference sent to the young people of Kosovo.

Kosovska Vitina Pupils Protest Kosovo
LD2609194688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1716 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Summary] Kosovska Vitina, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—Pupils and educational workers of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality at the secondary school center in Kosovska Vitina stopped work today as a sign of protest at slowness in resolving the Kosovo situation. About 300 pupils gathered in the center of Kosovska Vitina and shouted slogans which included: "Us or them," "You've sold Kosovo." The gathering was addressed by teachers and the director of the secondary school center, as well as municipal officials. Another protest gathering has been scheduled for tomorrow, as well as a boycott of classes.

Pristina Lecturers, Students Boycott Classes
LD2709151688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1258 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Summary] Pristina, 27 sept (TANJUG)—Lecturers and assistant lecturers teaching Serbo-Croatian at Pristina University, together with their students decided today to boycott classes until further notice. It was stated at a protest meeting of about 200 university lecturers, assistants, and students that they decided on this action because of the worsening political situation in Kosovo. They called on all Yugoslav universities to support their boycott by themselves stopping classes for 1 day. They also called on the top state leadership to establish the responsibility of Kolj Siroka and Azem Vlasi.

Teachers, Students Protest Albanian Separatism
LD2809082388 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2205 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Pristina, Sept 27 (TANJUG)—Professors and their associates of Serb and Montenegrin nationality at the University of Pristina, capital of the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo, began a boycott of classes today over the deterioration of the political situation in Kosovo.

They invited the teachers and students at all universities in the country to join in the boycott with a one-day boycott of classes at their respective universities.

According to official assessments, Albanian separatists and chauvinists have lately intensified terror over the non-Albanian population in Kosovo, which is a constituent part of Serbia. The objective of their actions is to create an ethnically pure territory, to create a republic and annex it to neighbouring Albania. Over the past eight years, 30,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have emigrated from Kosovo under constant pressure from ethnic Albanian separatists and chauvinists and a deprivation of rights.

Professors of Serb and Montenegrin nationalities at the University of Pristina today demanded of the federal organs to use all constitutional powers and establish legal

security in Kosovo. They called on the state and party leaderships to replace a number of Kosovo officials whom they regard as being chiefly to blame for the counter-revolution in the province, among whom they particularly singled out Kolj Siroka and Azem Vlasi.

The lengthy list of demands includes, among others, that state organs deny further stay to immigrants from Albania who have come into conflict with the [word indistinct] abolish a decision adopted in 1945 which forbade Serbs and Montenegrins exiled during World War Two to return to Kosovo and the decision on the subsequent expropriation of their lands. They also demand that conditions be urgently created for the return of those who have emigrated under pressure.

The professors demand of the 17th Plenum of Yugoslav Communists, called for mid-October, to cut short the agony of the non-Albanian population in Kosovo.

The party organization of the Pristina daily JEDINSTVO, which is published in Serbo-Croatian, today voiced the strongest condemnation of the Kosovo leadership so far. Its members assessed that there is a faction in the League of Communists of Kosovo which acts on the platform of the separatist movement and relies on those who are responsible for the counter-revolution. They therefore believe that the possibility must be considered of dismissing the state and public security organs in Kosovo who have been unable or unwilling to quell the counter-revolution for years.

Meanwhile, increasingly frequent and massive protests of solidarity with the persecuted in Kosovo, which began two months ago, continue.

In Cacak, in the Republic of Serbia, about 80,000 citizens today expressed solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. The demonstrators demanded freedom and peace for all Yugoslavs, upholding changes in the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia which would guarantee this republic sovereignty over its entire territory. This as the Serbian leadership underscores, would enable a quicker settlement of the situation in Kosovo.

Rallies of solidarity were held in Pristina and Kosovska Vitina today with some 16,000 people protesting the mistreatment of Serbian and Montenegrin children in Kosovo.

Montenegrin and Romany children boycotted classes in Kosovska Vitina today, demanding peaceful life, freedom and safety on their way to school. 3,000 other children demanded the same in Pristina, Djurakovac, Klina, Istok and Pec.

The boycott of school by about 7,000 elementary and high school students drew attention to attacks on non-Albanian children in Kosovo. The boycott in Pristina and other places started on Friday and ended yesterday. The students took to the streets calling for freedom and protection.

Kosovo's youth organisation leadership spoke out against the protests today, stressing that the protests were a "trifling with the fate of Kosovo inhabitants and all Yugoslavs".

Students Protest at Kosovo LC Headquarters
LD2709164988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1518 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Summary] Pristina, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—Over 3,000 high school children of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality from the Kosovo towns of Djurakovac, Istok, Klina and Pec, arrived by train in Kosovo Polje today. They were accompanied by teachers and parents. Together with the children from local schools, they set off toward Pristina carrying pictures of Comrade Tito and flags of Yugoslavia and the Socialist Republic of Serbia, chanting slogans of "Kosovo is Serbia," "Give us Freedom" and "One Constitution." At the moment the group is gathered outside the headquarters of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee.

Schoolchildren End Pristina Protest
LD2709211788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1735 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Summary] Pristina, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—The protest gathering of about 3,000 schoolchildren of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality from Klina, Pec, Istok, and Djurakovac ended quietly this evening with the children being given refreshments at the Pristina Grand Hotel and then being transported home by coach. At the protest meeting in front of the Boro and Ramiz student center today, about 6,000 schoolchildren and citizens attended.

Sabac Meeting on Kosovo Planned for 7 Oct
LD2609203588 Belgrade Tanjug Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1909 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Summary] Sabac, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—A solidarity meeting with the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo will be held on Friday 7 October at 1500 in the center of Sabac.

Protest Meeting Invitation Declined
AU2509195288 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Sep 88 p 12

[Summary] Slovenska Bistrica, 20 Sep—The Presidium of the Slovenska Bistrica SAWP, considering yesterday the invitation sent by the Communal Conference of

Svetozarevo, its twin town, to attend the solidarity meeting scheduled for 22 September, has decided to renounce its participation in the meeting.

Montenegrin Presidium on Niksic Rally
AU2709151388 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Sep 88 p 3

[Lj. Mudresa report: "The Rallies Are No Longer Necessary"]

[Text] Titograd, 25 Sep—In the assessment of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium which discussed the current political situation in this republic and in the country in the context of preparations for the next session of the Montenegro LC Central Committee and the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee, the recently held protest rallies in Niksic and Cetinje were an expression of unreserved solidarity with the disenfranchised Serbian and Montenegrin people in Kosovo and a manifestation of the open dissatisfaction of people and citizens with the inconsistent and ineffective solving of the difficult situation in the province and with indecision in breaking up the counterrevolutionary actions of Albanian nationalists and separatists.

However, it was stated at the Presidium session that the rallies, especially the one in Niksic, were exploited for purposes contrary to their basic intention. This was expressed in some of the banners and slogans and especially in the speech of a representative of the organization committee of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo at the meeting in Niksic, in which certain antisocialist and anticommunist views and attitudes were presented. These attacked the achievements of the revolution, the constitutional order of the country, and other values. There were also open calls to national intolerance and a settling of accounts. The meeting in Niksic was also used to spread pro-Chetnik and other ideologies. All this has greatly harmed political stability and brotherhood and unity, and in Montenegro it could have a negative influence on the traditionally good intranational relations between Montenegrins and members of the Albanian nationality.

Having taken advantage of the hospitality of the hosts and the public rostrum, in his speech in Niksic, the representative of the organization committee of Serbs and Montenegrins supported some well-known sinister ideas with which he impudently tried, from greater Serbian and nationalist standpoints, to deny that Montenegro is an equal socialist republic in Yugoslavia and to deny the existence of the Montenegrin nation, its history, and its culture.

He did not shrink from an attempt to set individuals in the political leadership of Montenegro directly against each other, to distance the leadership from the people, and even to create divisions among the Montenegrin people itself.

Banners were carried and slogans shouted at the rallies against a number of prominent sociopolitical workers in a way that most vulgarly offends human dignity.

On the basis of comprehensive checks, it was irrefutably stated that the slogan "We want the Russians," about which many comments were justifiably made, was not present at the rally in Niksic in either a verbal or written form.

Bearing in mind above all the direct support which the working people and citizens of Montenegro expressed for the demands to solve the problems of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, the Presidium stressed that, apart from the already arranged rally in Andrijevisa, it is no longer necessary to continue to hold these meetings in the republic, and especially not with an ultimatum from individual representatives of the organization committee of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.

Bosnian Commentary Views Niksic Rally

AU2709130288 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE
in Serbo-Croatian 20 Sep 88 p 2

[Mehmed Husic commentary: "On the Other Side of Support"]

[Text] Something is roaring. Yesterday it was indistinct and behind the scenes, but today it is loud. At the meetings of solidarity, the roar of those who want these meetings to become something that makes the blood freeze in our veins is getting louder and louder. The message is clear and unambiguous, it is written on banners, melted into a shout, and painted onto the portraits which are carried by the masses.

From the first meeting of Serbs and Montenegrins to today, the burst of noise has been spreading and it can already be said after the meeting in Niksic that a considerable number of the banners do not reflect what every honest person thinks and wants when he struggles with words or deeds to overcome the sad and difficult situation in Kosovo.

Now, if the newspapers want to note everything that is written on banners, they have to allocate a considerable amount of space in order to record them. One should not suppress the truth that there are plenty of those slogans to which the nation has become accustomed and around which they are prepared to rally: "Long live the Yugoslav People's Army," "Kosovo is Serbia," "Long live a united Yugoslavia," "We give up our lives, but we do not give up Kosovo," "Long live a united LCY".... It should be recognized that the meeting in Niksic also ended with the song "Comrade Tito, we swear to thee." All this is, however, only one side of the coin, the side that is seen the most often.

The other side is much more striking and it does not invoke peace and brotherhood but prison, persecution, and even bloodshed. How else can one understand the

cries "We want arms," "We are going to Kosovo," "Death to the Shiptars," and "We will kill Vlasi." Everyone and everything is manipulated in this heedless game, even children. For example, a baby was seen, one who could not walk but who was carrying, with its father's help, the banner "I am also with you."

A separate question is naming the names of officials. It seems that everyone who does not totally share the attitude of the part of the masses which calls "Serbs to gather" and which chants "We will go to Kosovo via Montenegro," are put on the lists which no longer call just for their replacement, but also for their arrest. Along with the names that had been mentioned earlier, banners appeared in Niksic with threats to newly named persons. In reading the slogans in the daily press, it can be noticed that as many as 27 people have been named: V. Zarkovic, B. Krunic, S. Dolanc, A. Vlasi, J. Vrhovec, K. Siroka, J. Smole, D. Markovic, F. Hodza, V. Deva, M. Bakali, S. Krajger, K. Jasari, Dj. Stojic, Dz. Nimani, S. Dolasevic, P. Matic, Dz. Radosavljevic, D. Jasanica, V. Krstic, Z. Marelj, S. Suvar, V. Djuranovic, P. Stambolic, A. Vlaskalic. The range is so wide that surely not everyone can be put into the same basket. Can it be claimed further in this example that all participants in the meetings think as one?

Slobodan Milosevic represents another separate question. The people gathered at these meetings undisputedly give him their unquestioning support, but it is obvious that they do not listen to him in some things. Obviously many of them have not heard—and some individuals themselves say they did not want to hear—his personal message in which he says that he is only one member of the Serbian LC Central Committee and therefore does not want to be distinguished from the others. Not only do many people not hear him but his portrait dominated the Niksic meeting and the dimensions according to which the anonymous naive painter painted it are dimensions which should be feared. Not even an uneducated national poet was left behind, so that now the verses can already be heard: "Slobodan, our flower of dew, all the people are following you," or even more decisively: "Serbia wants to know, when Sloba will replace Tito."

These are only fragments of what could be heard and seen last Sunday. Our dignity does not allow us to put a lot of it into this newspaper.

After all this, does anyone think that there is a cold and reasonable atmosphere at these meetings? The masses can perhaps be controlled up to a certain point, but when this point is surpassed... every honest person in this country is slowly filled with fear but everyone nevertheless wants children in Kosovo and elsewhere in Yugoslavia to sleep peacefully.

Smole on Kosovo, Niksic Rally, Slogans, Attacks
AU2709113488 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
20 Sep 88 p 14

[Lado Struznik report: "Attack on the Entire System"]

[Text] Kranj, 19 Sep—In his conversation with Kranj Communists today, Jozе Smole, president of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Slovenia and member of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Slovenia, presented the current political events in Slovenia and Yugoslavia and drew attention to the most burning problems, particularly concerning Kosovo, the constitutional changes, the economic crisis, and the consequence of the trial before the military court in Ljubljana.

Speaking about the situation in Kosovo, Jozе Smole said that there has been considerable exaggeration in descriptions of the grave position of Serbs and Montenegrins, and at meetings in Serbia and Montenegro there are banners and slogans that create anti-Albanian feelings or attack all the leaderships in Yugoslavia except that of Serbia. All this is reducing the chances for a peaceful solution of the Kosovo problem.

"All of us who hold responsible posts are portrayed by these slogans as vagabonds, as being connected with the Albanian irredentists, and as being to blame because the situation in Kosovo has not changed. On Wednesday, at the session of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium in Belgrade, we will raise the question as to whether the Serbian leadership is aware of where the extension of the attacks on all leaderships leads to. In essence, these are attacks on the entire political system."

Jozе Smole drew attention to the fact that the Belgrade daily POLITIKA, which used to be known as a respectable daily until recently, is changing its line to one of the most common demagoguery and in essence supports the crudest banners and slogans appearing at these rallies. This can be seen in the newspaper today, when the reports on meetings in Niksic and Cetinje contain numerous insulting slogans about Kosovo and other Yugoslav politicians, calls to square accounts with them, demands to use force in Kosovo, and the like. "We are concerned because the leadership of Serbia has not resolutely dissociated itself from such and similar slogans. When we posed this question in talks with representatives of the SAWP of Serbia, we were told that there is no sense in reacting to every single thing. I do not think that this is good, for creating such a feeling does not solve the problems of Kosovo and of Serbs in that province in any respect."

"We in Slovenia, and particularly those in the communes which have twin communes in Serbia, are under a certain kind of pressure from Serbia. They make claims which we find most insulting, namely that the Slovenes should now repay their historic obligation to Serbia, which in 1941 accepted the Slovenes who were driven out of Slovenia by Hitler's orders. This comparison of

the fate of the Slovene people in 1941 with the present situation in Kosovo is in extremely bad taste. In the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP, we have already adopted the view that we will not extend our support to those meetings that aggravate intranational relations."

One aspect of these meetings, as Smole stressed, is pressure to adopt the proposed constitutional changes in Serbia. In his view, however, Slovenia cannot support the proposed amendments to the Constitution of Serbia—which is something that Serbia's representatives requested of Slovenia's representatives—because this would be interfering in Serbia's internal relations. This is being done at meetings in Montenegro, and it gives the impression that Montenegro is an integral part of Serbia.

Jozе Smole also spoke about the proposals to change the federal Constitution, the solving of the economic crisis in Yugoslavia, the situation in Slovenia after the Military Court trial, and other questions.

Smole Criticizes Paper's, Serbian Leadership
AU2509200088 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 21 Sep 88 p 12

[D. Damjanovic report: "'Slovenia Is Under Serbia's Pressure'"]

[Text] Kranj, 20 Sep—Last night, in a conversation with the Communists of Kranj, Jozе Smole, president of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP, expressed his views on the situation in Kosovo and stated that the reports on the position of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo are exaggerated to some extent.

"At the meetings held in Serbia and Montenegro," this is how DELO reported Smole's speech, "there are some banners and slogans that provoke anti-Albanian feelings and attack all leaderships in Yugoslavia, except that of Serbia. All this is reducing the chances for a peaceful solution to the problems in Kosovo."

"All of us who hold responsible posts," Smole said, "are portrayed in these banners as vagabonds, as if we were connected with Albanian irredentists, and as if we were to blame because the situation in Kosovo has not changed. On Wednesday, at the session of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY Presidium in Belgrade, we will raise the question as to whether the Serbian leadership is aware of where these attacks on all leaderships are leading. These attacks are, in essence, attacks on the entire political system."

In his speech Smole also attacked POLITIKA accusing it for (again, according to DELO because POLITIKA's correspondents were not informed and invited to Kranj) publishing the banners seen at the meetings in Niksic and Cetinje, although the Slovene press did the same.

Smole said that POLITIKA, which "used to be a respectable daily until recently, is now pursuing a line of the simplest demagoguery and in essence supports the crudest banners and slogans that have appeared at these meetings."

One aspect of these meetings, according to Smole, is that they are being used as pressure to adopt the proposed constitutional changes in Serbia. In his view, however, "Slovenia cannot support the proposed amendments to the Constitution of Serbia—which is something that was asked by the representatives of Serbia—because this would be interfering in Serbia's internal relations. The support has been expressed at the meetings in Montenegro, as one can see, and this gives the impression that Montenegro is an integral part of Serbia."

The pressure exerted by Serbia, whose leadership has not decisively dissociated itself from the slogans seen at the meetings, is also, according to Smole, evident in the calls for the meetings to be held in Slovenia.

"We in Slovenia," Smole said, "and particularly those in the communes which have twin communes in Serbia, are under a certain kind of pressure from Serbia. They make claims which we find most insulting, namely that the Slovenes should now repay their historic obligation to Serbia which in 1941 accepted the Slovenes who were driven out by Hitler. This comparison of the fate of the Slovene people in 1941 with the present situation in Kosovo is of extremely bad taste. We in the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP, have already adopted the view that we will not extend our support to those meetings that aggravate intranational relations."

Smole Attacked for Criticizing Serbia

AU2609150488 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 22 Sep 88 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Smole Made Serious Accusations Against the Leadership of the SR of Serbia"]

[Text] During the formulation of the agenda for yesterday's session of the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference, Bogdan Trifunovic proposed that a special discussion be held regarding the assessment and speech made by Jozse Smole in Kranj the day before yesterday. Trifunovic said that according to the press, Smole made serious accusations against the leadership of the SR of Serbia regarding solidarity meetings. He first claimed, Trifunovic said, that the meetings represent pressure by Serbia and that the Serbian leadership did not decisively dissociate itself from the call that a solidarity meeting be held in Slovenia. According to Trifunovic, Smole expressed concern because the Serbian leadership did not decisively dissociate itself from the banners and slogans at the meetings in Niksic and Cetinje calling for the use of force.

Smole also stated that he will raise the question as to whether the leadership of Serbia is aware of where the attacks on all leaderships are leading, and that the meetings are in essence an attack on the entire political system. We are not talking about differences in views, which are normal, but, about making, Trifunovic warned, untrue claims and serious accusations. Therefore, I think that today we should discuss this under a special point on the agenda because this concerns a statement made by the top official of the socialist alliance in one of our republics which did not take into account some basic facts such as the views of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium and the Serbian Presidency which adopted a clear stance toward the meetings and toward certain speeches. If these are found to be negative, they will be condemned and a certain action will be taken.

This has created confusion in the public and the people are frightened by the views that come from another republic. I think that this represents an additional element of aggravation in our already serious situation. I asked myself what is the sense of the discussion in the SAWPY Presidium and of our discussion about how we are going to establish unity and a unified political action on Kosovo and other issues if the statements like this one made on the eve of the very sessions are not discussed, Trifunovic said.

Asking for the floor and pointing out that he will not go into the depth of the matter, Jozse Smole agreed that Bogdan Trifunovic's request be put as a special point on the agenda of yesterday's session.

After the speeches of several other members of the Presidium, it was concluded that a discussion on this proposal be held within the second point on the agenda, the current political situation in the country.

Serbian TU Federation Makes Demands on Kosovo

LD2709223488 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2202 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, September 27 (TANJUG)—The leadership of the Trade Union Federation of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia today joined the demands for the forthcoming plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) to establish the responsibility of the members of the country's party leadership and the leadership of the autonomous province of Kosovo for the grave situation in that province, which, as assessed, has dramatically deteriorated since the LCY Central Committee session in July.

Because of increasingly brutal and perfidious attacks on Serbs and Montenegrins, 830 of them have moved from the province of Kosovo to other parts of the Republic of Serbia since the beginning of the year, or 85 more than in the same period last year. About 30,000 Serbs and

Montenegrins have moved out of Kosovo since 1981 under pressure of Albanian separatists who are striving to create an ethnically pure republic of Kosovo.

In today's discussion about the socio-economic development of Kosovo, it was set out that Serbia's industry has constructed 63 new plants in the province of Kosovo in the past seven years. The realization of 26 new plants is underway and the construction of 16 new works is being prepared, where more than 20,000 workers will be employed.

Vojvodina To Implement 'Program on Kosovo'
LD2309202088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1516 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Text] Novi Sad, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—The Vojvodina Assembly has adopted a decision on the formation of a special coordination commission for the implementation of the program on Kosovo.

This assembly body, headed by Marija Miskolci-Zvekcic, will coordinate all actions in the implementation of tasks connected with the realization of the program on Kosovo and the execution of the tasks of party and other organs on the more rapid development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the development of the brotherhood and unity of all nations and nationalities. The assembly commission is composed of 15 members—10 delegates and 5 members who are representatives of the Vojvodina SAWP, the trade union federation, the Executive Council and the Vojvodina Chamber of Economy.

SSOJ Appeal to Public for Common Sense
LD2609200688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1550 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—Eleven years before the 21st Century Yugoslavia has found itself at the most crucial watershed in its socialist development. An economic and social collapse, an almost totally inefficient political system and a situation in which we are nearer a fratricidal war than a progressive resolution of the difficulties, can no longer be described as merely "the further deterioration in social relations." This is stated at the beginning of an Appeal for Common Sense which the Presidium of the SSOJ [Federation of the Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia] Conference issued today and which is addressed to the Yugoslav public.

Many of the most responsible officials in our society who have missed their chance will have to go. The lack of confidence in the institutions of the system is immense and the alternatives on offer unsatisfactory. This has taken most drastic forms in Kosovo where the institutions of the system have failed to ensure both physical integrity and personal safety and freedom of the population, the appeal states.

We want to discuss the fate of our homeland today because it may be too late if left for tomorrow. We do not accept solutions which offer arms and blood because we know that when the guns stop firing and blood stops flowing we shall be neither free nor richer, the youth organization leadership warns. We cannot accept the situation in which self-management is used merely as a mask by the ruling oligarchy and socialism as an instrument for equally distributing poverty in the country. We shall therefore use all our know-how and potential to bring about changes which will guarantee a future in a more democratic, more humane, and a spiritually and materially richer socialism.

We desire an efficient political system of self-managing socialism in which self-management and socialism will mean: a reform of the electoral system in which voters will be given a direct and overwhelming influence; individual and public accountability at all levels; freedom of speech, thought and gathering with a consistent respect for basic achievements of a civilized society; greater culture in dialogue, understanding, and a process for reaching agreements free of prejudices of petty politicking; openness in leading and managing as a sign of responsibility and success; an efficient state with the rule of law and an assembly as the truly top organ of power and self-management; an SSOJ as a modern front and pluralist organization of young people who share an interest in the country's overall progress, an Appeal for Common Sense stresses.

We are for a modern, market-oriented economy; for more initiative, independent enterprising spirit; for a pluralism of the forms of ownership and for abolishing monopolies and restrictions of any kind; for economically and ecologically sound investment.

We are for an internally-integrated Yugoslavia which will at the same time be an equal partner in the integrational process in Europe and in the world; a Yugoslavia worthy of its rich historical past; a Yugoslavia as an example of positive trends in socialism and not a dark spot on the geographic map of development in the world; we are for a Yugoslavia as a federation of equal nations and nationalities historically linked by a decision to integrate with, at the same time, respect for individuals and for the separate identity of each nation or nationality. We are for an SFRY in which understanding, progress and democracy prevail.

Common sense prevailed at the most difficult periods in our history. Convinced that it will prevail again we sign this appeal, the SSOJ Conference Presidium says in a message for the Yugoslav public.

Press Sees Setinc Resignation as 'Warning'
LD2709230688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1738 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Zagreb, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—Franc Setinc has announced to the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Yugoslav public his irrevocable decision to

resign from his position in the top party leadership of the country. This was done by a man who, as one of the exceptions among Slovene politicians, has not been denounced once by people at meetings and gatherings in Serbia and Montenegro. However, it is not out of the question that this could happen to him after the articles published in certain papers, VLESNIK writes.

What is perhaps less obvious in Setinc's letter relates to the Presidium from which he is resigning. Could there be changes in the country's present party leadership's method of work which "kills rather than yields results" or did Setinc, aware of the prevailing habit of compromising and conceding, withdraw from the sorry task of influencing changes. The cost of his warning is the great personal drama of a man who after 4 decades of dedication to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia and the LCY, is prepared to leave this work because it is impossible for him to carry it out in a respectable, democratic, and civilized way.

The dignified and honest Franc Setinc has spoken the most damning truth which it is hard to ignore—the last hour for coming to our senses is ticking away because we are plunging into darkness and hopelessness.

Setinc Resignation 'Not Special Surprise'

LD2709183388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic
Service in Serbo-Croatian 1035 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—As has been known for some time and as he himself publicly stated on several occasions, it was a year ago that Franc Setinc first thought of resigning. His decision to withdraw from the country's top party leadership has not therefore come as a special surprise to the public, POLITIKA EKSPRES states today in a commentary on Setinc's resignation from the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Setinc once explained that he wanted to give up his work in the LCY Central Committee Presidium because he had been on the political scene a long time and was tired and would be happy to let younger and more enthusiastic people take over his job. His explanation of why he has decided to resign now does not come just as a surprise, but also raises a number of inevitable questions and points to major contradictions.

In other words, it would be understandable and normal if a member of the country's top leadership resigns because he feels responsible for the fact that over the last 8 years no solution has been found for the drama of Kosovo or for defeating the counterrevolution, or at least for feeling accountable for the failure to implement the unambiguous conclusions of the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum despite the time limit set on their fulfillment. (Although, the commentary says, others are much

more responsible for this failure than Setinc, but someone has to be the first). According to Setinc's explanation, it is not this, but the fear of unacceptable slogans concerning Kosovo which lie behind his resignation.

Various explanations can of course be given for the reasons for resigning, but they become unacceptable if aimed at weakening the struggle against counterrevolution in Kosovo. It is even less understandable that, while rightly warning of the danger posed by unacceptable slogans such as "Give us Arms," Setinc fails to say whether he was concerned over the slogans such as "Put Bosnians in Chains" heard at the meetings in Slovenian support of Jansa, Tasic and Borstner. Are they less dangerous than the unacceptable demands heard sporadically at mass meetings in solidarity with Serbs and Monteneegrins from Kosovo? In any case, during his visit to Prizren, Setinc himself described these demands as mere details, saying that people themselves were fighting the provocateurs.

The paper also asks how Franc Setinc could obtain an insight into the whole complex nature of the situation in Kosovo during the few days he spent in Kosovo but is not (or does not want to be) aware of what has for a long time been happening within the Slovene political leadership.

In reference to Setinc's "virulent attack" on POLITIKA EKSPRES and NIN and their reporting of the statements he made in Kosovo and his behavior there, the paper notes that its coverage consisted of a brief commentary by a correspondent on Setinc's tactless statement in Prizren when he said that he was "delighted with the situation in that particular environment." This was followed by Setinc's reaction and the correspondent's explanation. In other words, it was all done in line with a civilized democratic public dialogue. However, Setinc does not seem to be willing to pursue a genuine democratic dialogue as far as his activities are concerned; he instead resorts to discrediting tactics.

POLITIKA EKSPRES goes on to note Setinc's principled nature when it comes to protecting his own integrity, while at the same time choosing to remain silent over numerous insinuations, untruths and even slander directed by some sections of the Slovene media against officials in the country's top leaderships and in other republics. He also seems to have chosen not to react to attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army. We would all like him to be right in saying that it was not true that the Slovene political leadership had called for a reassessment of the counterrevolution in Kosovo. However, paper reports from Ljubljana (and not some slanderer) indicate that such demands were made at a session of the Presidium of the Slovene LC Central Committee by Stern and Dolnicar—Milan Kucan disassociated himself from their statements in an unconvincing way—and then by Mojmir Ocvirk, who, at a session of the Slovene SAWP

Republican conference Presidium called on the Slovene delegates in the Federal Assembly to ask for an independent commission to be formed to establish what the real situation in Kosovo is.

Despite all this, POLITIK EKSPRES notes, we cannot but ask—has not perhaps the wrong man resigned? The solidarity meetings have shown that the people know there are those more responsible than Setinc for the drama of Kosovo. The people are not frightened to speak up any more. In the light of all these facts, the paper asks if the reasons Setinc gave for his resignation are the genuine ones, or perhaps they lie in his attempt to defend Joze Smole's untenable views, or perhaps in something completely different. On the eve of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee we cannot afford to avoid such questions, POLITIKA EKSPRES says in the conclusion of its commentary.

Slovenian Presidential Statement on Denunciations
LD2809220988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic
Service in Serbo-Croatian 1723 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—Political denunciations of individual organs, legitimate representatives, and officials from state organs and socio-political organizations from the SR of Slovenia and the federation are mounting. At the same time they are becoming aggressively virulent, the presidency of the SR of Slovenia says in a statement released for publication today.

The Presidency of the SR of Slovenia believes it has a duty, in light of its constitutional function, its tasks, obligations, and powers under the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia, and in light of the current social, political and economic situation in both the SFRY and the SR of Slovenia, to inform the Slovene and entire Yugoslav public about the standpoints it adopted at a session yesterday.

A growing number of the denunciations point to attempts to exert pressure. These attempts can in no way be described as spontaneous. In their nature and orientation these apparently critical approaches do not exclude altering or even misquoting statements and views, the Slovene Presidency says in the statement released through the Republic's Committee for Information. In this way they become a negation of their own substance, form, and of the very essence of socialist self-management based democracy. Finally, they point to an attempt to disparage legitimate and lawful views and orientations of the organs and organizations from the SR of Slovenia, and especially of their representatives in the organs of the federation.

The statement goes on to say: "We shall always advocate democratic dialogue on the entire Yugoslav territory as the only way of formulating the right and genuine answers to the social and political challenges of present-day Yugoslavia".

The Presidency of the SR of Slovenia warns that to continue the unprincipled, unfounded, and tendentious witchhunt would hamper any further efforts to find a democratic and AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council for Liberation of Yugoslavia] inspired way out of the present crisis. It would also have grave consequences for our Yugoslav community.

We therefore protest sharply against such developments and methods and call on the competent organs in the federation, the republics, and autonomous provinces, to suppress such methods and to provide normal conditions for the work of the legitimate organs and legitimately elected representatives of the SR of Slovenia in the organs of the federation, the statement says.

This is our duty and our request. It is understandable to assume that our demand also concerns all the other legitimate organs and representatives in the federation, the republics, and in both autonomous provinces, the statement to the public by the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia says.

Zrenjanin Solidarity Meeting Set for 8 Oct
LD2709171688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic
Service in Serbo-Croatian 1425 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Summary] Zrenjanin, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—At its extraordinary and extended session today, the Presidium of the Zrenjanin SAWP municipal conference decided to organize a meeting of solidarity with disenfranchised Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo on 8 October at 1100 local time.

Member Expelled From Tetovo LC
LD2409112288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1651 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Text] Tetovo, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—Members of the LC basic organization in the Agroprogres center for promotion of private agriculture in Tetovo today unanimously decided to expel center director Servet Avziju from the ranks of the LC. The evaluation was that he had contributed to the spread of greater Albanian nationalism and separatism. Some time ago Servet Avziju was relieved of his duties as secretary of the Tetovo LC Municipal Committee for the same reasons.

Military Court Sentences Albanian Separatists
LD2309160088 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1305 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept 23 (TANJUG)—The Military Court in Sarajevo, Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has passed sentences ranging from five to nine years' imprisonment on a group of ethnic Albanian separatists, currently doing their military service, on charges of hostile activity while serving in the Army, the Sarajevo daily OSLOBODJENJE reports today.

The apprehension of the group has thwarted a possible repetition of the crime committed last September in the Paracin Barracks in the Republic of Serbia, when Aziz Keljmendi, an ethnic Albanian soldier, killed four and wounded five non-Albanian soldiers. Keljmendi was assisted by eight associates, members of a hostile Albanian separatist and irredentist group.

The group convicted at the Sarajevo trial was active in the Vinkovac and the Tuzla barracks, but was uncovered in a speedy and effective action by the Army security organs.

The Military Court sentenced Skender Ismaili (1962), teacher from Pristina, to nine years', Gani Saciri (1962), agricultural technician from Bujanovac, to eight years', Bedzet Ramadani (1966), teacher from Gnjilane, to six years' and Gzim Hadzimusa (1968), student from Uro-sevac, to five years' imprisonment.

Ismaili, Saciri and Ramadani became members of the illegal Albanian chauvinist and irredentist organization "Marxists-Leninists of Kosovo" when they were still pupils or students, and continued to propagate the great-Albanian ideology and counterrevolutionary stands and organize themselves accordingly while serving in the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA).

OSLOBODJENJE reports that Ismaili and Saciri had planned to raid a military warehouse, kill its guard and the officer in charge, steal weapons and bury them. Not expecting to be found out, they had planned to take the weapons to Kosovo on completion of their term in the Army. According to the two, ethnic Albanians needed arms badly now, "because an uprising was necessary against Serbs," "Kosovo needs to be liberated," and "annexed to Albania."

Kosovo is an autonomous province within the Republic of Serbia, but is in practice by its status absolutely equal with Yugoslavia's six republics which comprise the Yugoslav Federation. Due to strong pressure by ethnic Albanian chauvinists and separatists which is increasingly escalating into terror, more than 30,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have moved from Kosovo over the last seven years. The Albanian chauvinists' and separatists' dream of an "ethnically pure" Kosovo thus threatens to become reality—unless the Yugoslav state and party leadership carries out urgent, effective measures to prevent this exodus.

Bogataj Case Before Supreme Military Court
LD2709174088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1552 GMT 27 sep 88

[Summary] Belgrade, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—A public hearing was held today in the Supreme Military Court—with Colonel Jovan Buturovic presiding—in connection with the appeal against the verdict of the Sarajevo Military Court, which sentenced Tomo Bogataj to 1 year's imprisonment for hostile propaganda in June this

year. While doing his military service in Banja Luka, 20-year-old Bogataj from Ljubljana called for changes in the sociopolitical system, the smashing of brotherhood and unity, and Slovene independence. Bogataj agreed that the hearing be conducted in Serbo-Croat.

Prekale LC Members Expelled
LD2609223788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1811 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Summary] Istok, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—The Istok LC Municipal Committee today pronounced ideopolitical measures on Prekale basic LC organization members most responsible for the complex situation in this village. By a majority vote, two were expelled from the LCY and three were given a warning. At the meeting it was said that the conditions should be created for the reformation of the party organisation in Prekale, which was disbanded on 26 July this year.

Pula Port Workers End Strike
LD2609203088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1713 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Summary] Pula, 26 September (TANJUG)—Dissatisfied workers of the Pula Port collective who stopped work on 16 September, today ended their strike when their demand for payment, based on an across-the-board monthly figure for the days when there is no work, was accepted. This is a temporary measure; an analysis of working norms will be conducted over the next 3 months.

Tuzla Teachers To Resume Work 26 Sep
LD2409165188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1407 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Summary] Tuzla, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—After a break of 5 days, lessons will resume in Tuzla for about 16,000 pupils on Monday. Educational workers decided at a trade union meeting today to resume work after a decision by the self-managing community of interests for primary education that the guaranteed basic pay for primary school teachers would be 420,000 dinars. The teachers will continue to seek a basic rate three times the level of the guaranteed personal income in the republic, which would amount to 600,000 dinars.

Slovene SAWP To Set Up Rights Committee
AU2609131288 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Sep 88 p 3

[S. Gajevic report: "A Delegate Group for the Condemned"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 20 Sep—The Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium today supported the proposal for the setting up of a delegate group in the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia which would examine all the circumstances surrounding the trial of the soldier Tomo Bogataj in Sarajevo and the trial of the four men condemned in

the Ljubljana Military Court. The task of the delegate group would be to examine all the circumstances surrounding these cases and explain whether the contentious document which led to the trial of Janez Jansa, Ivan Borstner, Franci Zavrl, and David Tasic was in line with the constitutional powers of the military organs or not.

It was decided today to set up a committee for the protection of people's rights within the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference as a similar council was set up at the federal level as early as June. The committee should be concerned with all problems concerning the protection of human rights. As Joze Smole said, this means that this committee should also discuss the emigration under duress of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, as well as the violation of human rights in the slogans "We want the Russians," "We will kill Vlasi," and "We want arms."

The Republican Conference also discussed the election of a member of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia. Sixty five candidates were nominated for the additional elections and the candidacy of 22 of these was accepted. The Slovene SAWP Republican Conference endorsed eight candidates today: Igor Babcar, Silve Gorenc, Matjaz Mulej, Milica Ozbic, Zivko Pregelj, Ivan Pucnik, Ivan Ribnikar, and Boris Snuderl. The list of 22 candidates will remain open so that all nomination conferences can decide on the possible additional proposals. The elections should be completed by the end of October.

Veterans Denounce Committee To Reexamine Tito's Role
LD2609222988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1741 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Novi Sad, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—War veterans belonging to the SUBNOR [Veterans Group] municipal committee of the Stari Grad municipality of Novi Sad

have today called for criminal proceedings to be instituted against the members of the so-called Committee for the Defense of the Freedom of Thought and Expression, who have asked for an reexamination of Josip Broz Tito's historical role. The war veterans sharply denounced such attempts at denigrating the role and work of Comrade Tito.

The municipal committee also supported a demand heard at a meeting in Novi Sad yesterday of solidarity with Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo for the dismissal of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium and of the Novi Sad SAWP City Committee Presidium for, as the war veterans stress, their attitude to such meetings and their refusal to take part in organizing them. [passage omitted]

Mikulic To Visit Austria 29 Sep
LD2609191688 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1832 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 26 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Branko Mikulic on Thursday leaves on a two-day visit to Austria at the invitation of Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, the Yugoslav Government announced today.

Mikulic is returning a visit to Yugoslavia by Vranitzky from February 18 to 20 last year.

Zemljarić Receives USSR Ambassador
LD2709171988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic
Service in Serbo-Croatian 1625 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—Janez Zemljarić, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, today received Viktor Maltsev, USSR Ambassador to the SFRY. Topical issues of cooperation in the spheres of economy, science and technology were discussed.